

Duplicates

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THE FRENCH QUESTION

BY

JOSEPH TASSÉ

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The French people in Canada are in the position of a people speaking an alien language, but do not consider themselves an alien people, and are at this moment as proud of British law and freedom as any portion of the Canadian people; and as Lord Dufferin remarked the other day in London, there is no class or population more thoroughly trained in Parliamentary practice and life, and to all the rights and feelings of an independent and proud people.—(Speech of Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Dundee, Scotland.)

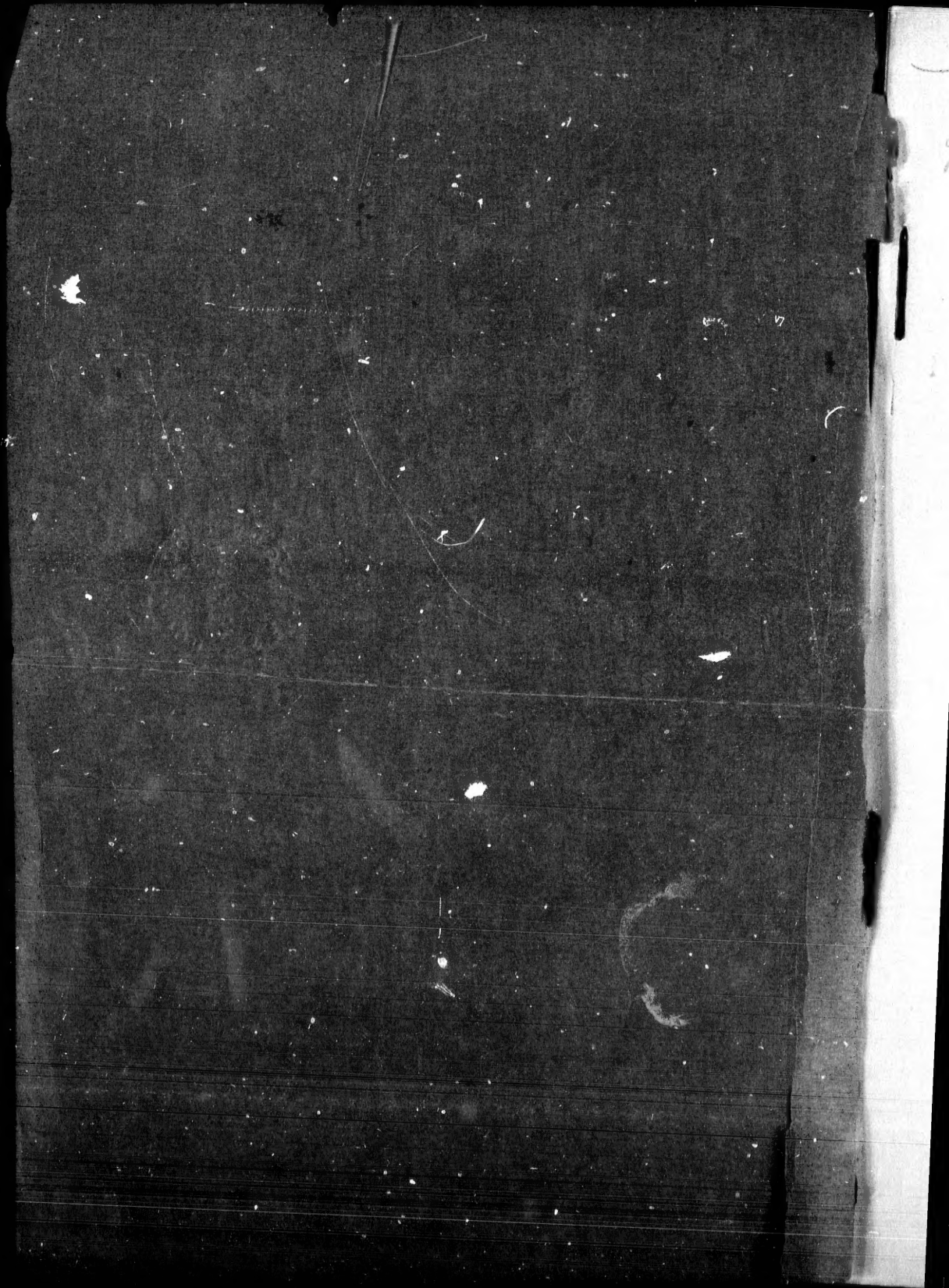


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MONTREAL

IMPRIMERIE GÉNÉRALE, 45, JACQUES-CARTIER SQUARE

1888



Can. Tassé Joseph
Paris.

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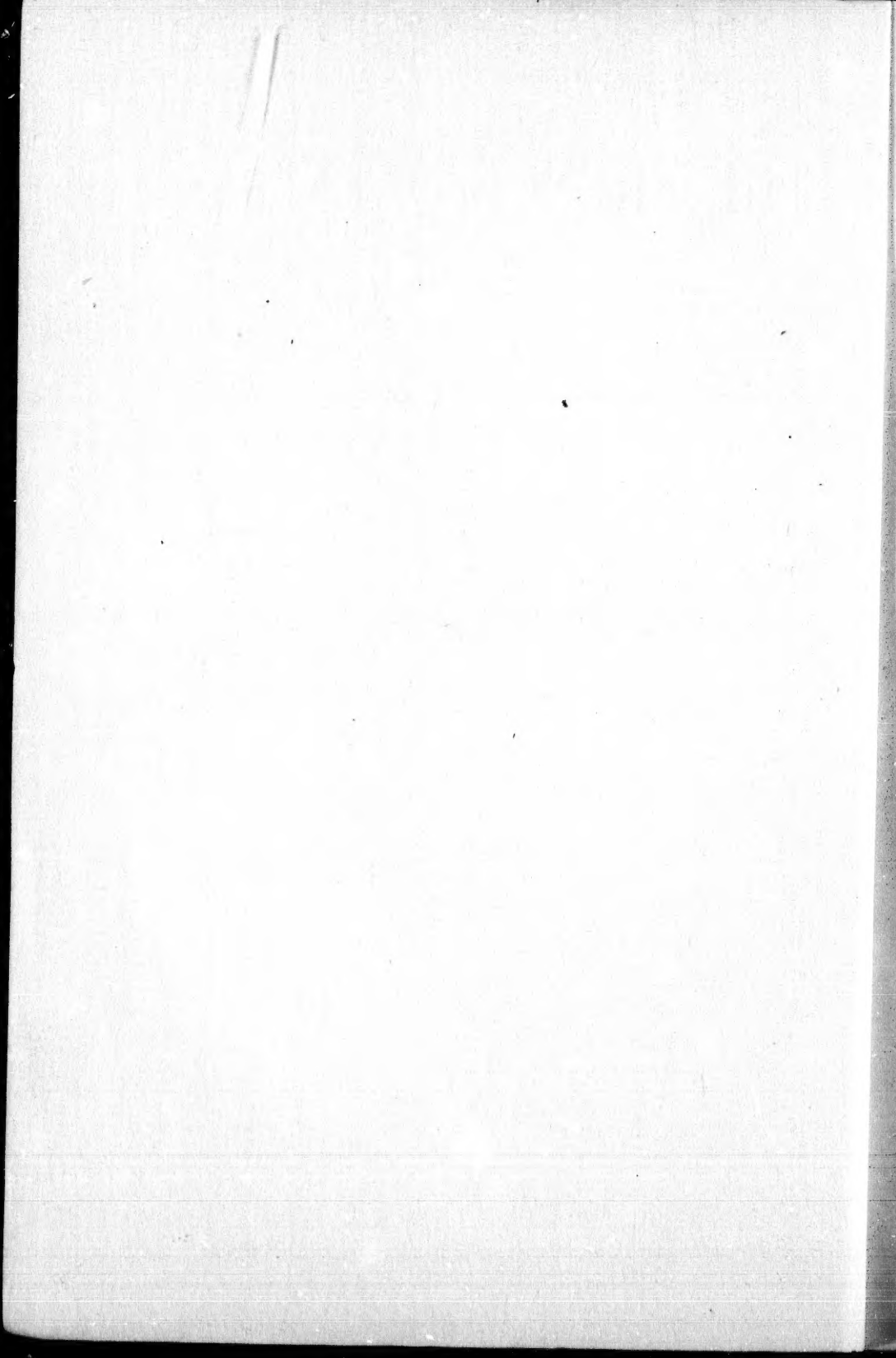
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The following letters need very little introduction. They are an answer to a series of charges made by **THE MAIL** against the French Canadian race. They are published, at the request of many persons who think that they contain facts worth preserving and studying and not to be easily found elsewhere. The first letter was prompted by a communication of a so called "Protestant Minister" of Quebec, which appeared in that paper. But the cudgels were soon taken up by the editor of **THE MAIL**, who seems to have played the double role with wonderful skill and elasticity. After the insertion of the first letters, **THE MAIL**, which had provoked and stimulated the debate, which had been asking for more information, complaining that my facts were not to the point, suddenly came to the conclusion to settle the dispute by silencing me. The light however could not be diverted in that way. I found in the new organ of the conservative party, **THE EMPIRE**, a paper fair enough to put before the public the suppressed defence of a much abused people and I hereby convey to its editor my warmest thanks. The discussion having been abruptly closed, it became necessary to make considerable additions in order to cover the whole ground. As it will be seen by the letter of Mr. Joseph Pope, private secretary to Sir John Macdonald, **THE MAIL** had extended the same unfair treatment to that gentleman when, a year previous, he generously undertook to refute other outrageous statements against the moral character of my race.

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THE FRENCH QUESTION.

FIRST LETTER.

Reply to "A Protestant Minister."—Religious toleration in Quebec.—French flag and French loyalty.—Ethnological homogeneity.—Opinion of Lord Dufferin.—English exodus of Quebec.—Duty of Canadians.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

I notice that in your issue of Saturday a correspondent signing "A Protestant Minister" has been writing on the crisis and denouncing the French element, quite a favourite theme in some quarters. As you were at one time a most able advocate of a much maligned race—and no one regrets more than I do that the powerful friend of yesterday has become the sworn enemy of to-day—perhaps you will permit a short reply in your columns.

While not admitting that a "crisis is looming up," still if it ever should come it will be brought about by such extremists, such firebrands, as your correspondent. In the first place, I deny that French Canada has become a source of weakness to Confederation. It is one of its main pillars. No other province is so much interested in the

maintenance of Confederation. And, as a matter of fact, there are fewer disloyal men, fewer annexationists, fewer commercial unionists, or veiled annexationists in Quebec than in any other province ; it is the bulwark of Canadian loyalty.

I deny also that the spirit shown towards the British minority of Quebec is arrogant in the extreme. No minority is more fairly, more handsomely treated in the whole Dominion. Its educational system is under its absolute control. It has a greater number of public officials, senators, members of parliament, legislative councillors, judges, than warranted if population were the only standard. Such is the protection granted to the minority that the limits of twelve counties cannot be changed without its assent, a fact unique in our constitution. On many occasions Protestants have been elected to represent French constituencies. If French law exists in civil matters it is the outcome of a solemn treaty, and of this itself it is to be said there is not only no complaint on the part of the ablest English lawyers ; but, on the contrary, they admit that it is eminently just and logical. In a speech delivered on the 4th January 1886 before the St. George's Club of London, Sir John MacDonald declared that the French Civil Law of Lower Canada was the best, the most scientific system of law in the world.

The display of the French flag on every street and on every public building offends deeply "A Protestant Minister." There was a time when it was hailed perhaps with respect by your correspondent whilst it divided the glories of the Crimean war with the Union Jack. Such a display shows undoubtedly that the great majority of the people are French, that they cherish the souvenir of the Old Motherland—who does not, with a heart beating in the proper place?—but it is also the highest evidence of the unlimited liberty which we enjoy irrespective of our origin. That very freedom is the golden cord which unites us to the mother of liberty. It is the mainstay of our attachment to British institutions. Let "A Protestant Minister" be not unduly alarmed on that score. In 1775, in 1812 and 1886, we rallied and fought for the flag he loves so much, even against our own blood, even at one time despite the passionate appeals of a Lafayette, and our valour was never questioned. But for us, Canada would not be to-day a most valuable part of the Empire. The majestic Nile has witnessed the presence of our Canadian boatmen under the command of Lord Wolseley. And so gallant has been their conduct that they were thanked by an unanimous vote of the British Parliament, on the 12th August 1885. In the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer

(Sir Michael Hicks-beach) "they have shown—conclusively shown—" to the world that strong and deep loyalty which is the real bond of "union between this country and her Colonies, and that, at the faintest idea of danger, our Colonists will rally around the Mother Country, and fight with her soldiers and sailors wherever they may "be required." On all occasions we have shown a common interest in a common cause, and we shall do our duty whenever necessary.

Let "A Protestant Minister" be not unduly alarmed also by the display of the Papal flag. Rome does not foment treason. Obedience to the existing powers is part of its preaching. Even Bismark has lived to benefit by that lesson. If your correspondent has read history, he should know that during the wars of 1775 and 1812, the Catholic Bishops of Quebec and Montreal were the first to preach loyalty to the Crown, and their voice was obeyed. The uprising of 1837 was also condemned by the same authorities, and but for their interference the whole people would have been in arms.

Some excesses may have been committed by the populace, but they were neither inspired nor encouraged, nor approved by the Church. I know they have met with the unanimous disapproval of the French press. It would be unfair to impute your riots in Toronto, and some of recent occurrence, to the heads of Protestantism, and the same may be said of the onslaughts on the Salvation Army. Those very excesses have just been condemned by Recorder Dery, and the Army of General Booth, which is not even tolerated in some Protestant countries, may continue to march to the conquest of the unwilling souls of the good city of Quebec. If there are any cases of injustice, they are isolated, and exceptions prove the rule.

I deny furthermore that there is a general desire among the French to get rid of the British element. There is a laudable spirit of emulation, but not of extermination. Certain Ontario papers express sometimes the kind desire that the French should be wiped out, but our papers don't reciprocate. I would consider the disappearance of the British element a public calamity. I cordially endorse what your correspondent says of Anglo-Saxon brain, pluck and wealth. They have erected everlasting monuments in our cities. We much rely on them for the continuance, the enlargement of our progress. But we fancy that Britons have learned to know that the intermingling of the old Norman blood has done too much for England's greatness to be deprecated as a factor of our new Canadian nationality. The multiplication of our families may be enormous, unparalleled in the history of mankind, but it should be a matter of public rejoicing. It

proves our morality and the healthfulness of our climate. Why should it be so threatening when we don't grudge the millions of dollars devoted to draw an European immigration entirely foreign to our origin and to our traditions ? What we need most in our vast domains is population, but few will deny that the home product is always the best adapted to a country. To the narrow-minded who would suppress, if they could, the descendants of the early pioneers, and who consider them a hindrance to our political unity, let me oppose the noble, the thoughtful language of a statesman, Lord Dufferin :—

I do not think that ethnological homogeneity is an unmixed benefit to a country. Certainly the least attractive characteristic of a great portion of this continent is the monotony of many of its outward aspects, and I consider it fortunate for Canada that her prosperity should be founded on the co-operation of different races. The inter-action of national idiosyncrasies introduces into our existence a freshness, a colour, an elastic impulse which otherwise would be wanting ; and it would be most faulty statesmanship to seek their obliteration. My warmest aspiration for that province (Quebec) has always been to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France herself has so admirably performed for Europe.

The British element is not reduced in this province because our laws are unjust ; because they are persecuted, but because they emigrate to more congenial quarters, following, in large numbers, the advice of Horace Greeley :—" Go West, young man." If " A Protestant Minister " will study the census of New England for the last two or three decades, he will ascertain a diminution of the same kind. Shall it be said also that Eastern Ontario is becoming more French because we are ruling that great province ? The effects being the same everywhere, your correspondent must find truer causes than those which he enumerates.

Your correspondent signs his letter " A Protestant Minister." I question it very much. A Christian minister has the greatest regard for truth and charity. He knows no hatred. He loves his neighbour. He strives to unite instead of disuniting people born for a common destiny. As I do not find these characteristics of a Christian minister in his epistle, but the very opposite, I am fully warranted in concluding that the signature is a misprint. The correspondent, as he informs us, lives under the shadow of the Plains of Abraham, and almost hopes for a repetition of the celebrated battle. But let him not forget that since then a common monument has been erected by a far-seeing governor to the memory of the two heroes, representing two great nations, who fell gloriously on the battlefield. Let him meditate the admirable

inscription : *Mortem virtus communem, famam historia, monumentum posteritas dedit.* Standing on the old rock of Quebec, that monument means peace instead of war ; it means obliteration of the past and concentration of all our forces to make a great and united Canada. Let us rise to the height of that sublime lesson.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

Montreal, September 29, 1887.

SECOND LETTER.

The friend of yesterday the enemy of to-day. — George Brown and French Domination.—The “low races” according to Goldwin Smith.—Commercial Union should be established to crush the French.—French-Canadian fecundity a “danger” to Anglo-Saxon civilization.—The tithe system.—First Canadian Cardinal.—Another opinion of Lord Dufferin on French Canada. — Diversity of races not a source of national weakness.—Canadian Nationality.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

I must confess I did not expect to cross swords with you when I took up the gauntlet thrown by “A Protestant Minister.” But since you enter the arena, and direct on me your powerful artillery in a two-column leader, I cannot be expected to remain silent. I even hasten to “speak now.”

It is quite evident that you have recapitulated in your lengthy comments all your grievances, real or fictitious, against the French. Such grievances would have been quite in place in the *Globe* of former days. What a surprise to see them ventilated, nay magnified, in the paper which on so many occasions burst the bubbles—*Et tu quoque, mi fili!* As you are refurbishing the worn-out arguments of George Brown and resuming his unfortunate crusade which caused so much strife and so much bitterness, I cannot but think of the words which he uttered in discussing the scheme of Confederation :

Here we sit to-day seeking amicably to find a remedy for constitutional evils and injustice complained of—by the vanquished? No, sir, but complained of by the

conquerors ! Here sit the representatives of the British population claiming justice—only justice, and here sit the representatives of the French population discussing in the French tongue whether we shall have it. One hundred years have passed away since the conquest of Quebec, but here sit the children of the victor and the vanquished, all avowing hearty attachment to the British Crown, all earnestly deliberating how we shall best extend the blessings of British institutions, how a great people may be established on this continent in close and hearty connection with Great Britain.

I cannot admit that the vanquished have conquered the victors. But if such were the case, even to the slightest extent, what becomes of the assertion attributed to Governor Head, and believed in by many, that we are an "inferior race"? Among those believers, I am sorry and astounded to say, I have to include one of your most frequent and brilliant contributors, a writer of manifold ideas, crochety as they are at times, but a most inveterate enemy of the Celtic race. The name of Mr. Goldwin Smith will suggest itself as the party referred to. Such is his blindness, such is his racial prejudice, such are his notions of Anglo-Saxon superiority, such is his hatred of everything Catholic, that he, a former professor of Oxford, that he, who poses as a regenerator of humanity, that he, who fills the English and American papers with his elucubrations *de omni re scibili*, was not ashamed to class the descendants of France among what he styles the "lower races" and to utter the following monstrous—yet a mild term—language in a letter addressed to the *Independent* of New York :

By sheer numerical increase the lower races seem in a fair way to thrust the higher races—whose marriages are restrained by social pride, *and whose women often avoid maternity*—from the seat of power. The outlook is serious, because nothing can be more opposed to Anglo-Saxon civilization than the civilization of the French Catholic, while the French Catholic will find an ally in the Irish, German and Italian Catholics, who are so strong upon this continent. Nor can anything apparently arrest the extension of French nationality except the action of assimilating forces more powerful than those which the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant element exerts, or can be expected ever to exert.

Mr. Smith has a fine command of language, says the *Boston Pilot*, referring to the italicised sentence, and "nobody could improve upon "such a graceful euphemism for murder."..... The French and Irish are virtuous ; therefore they are prolific ; therefore Anglo-Saxon civilization demands their extinction. Such is Mr. Smith's scandalous argument. The best thing would be the *Standard* suggests, for Mr. Smith to introduce among the French Canadians certain

points of civilization which would tend to keep down the race increase, such as intemperance, child murder, divorce and the actions which lead to them—marks and evidences of the higher civilization of the higher race—which are almost unknown among the French Canadians. “Why does not Mr. Goldwin Smith” it asks “write a book “to extol these signs of higher civilization and form an Anti-Increase “and Multiply Society to propagate his theories among the lower races.”

You have agitated for some months a new issue, that of Commercial Union or unlimited reciprocity with the United States. You are worshipping new gods altogether. It is not my desire to introduce that matter in our discussion. It may be irrelevant. But I cannot but point out that Commercial Unionists are making a very great mistake, if they want at all the concurrence of the Province of Quebec, in parading Mr. Goldwin Smith as one of the exponents, one of the foremost champions of the New Idea. Truly Commercial Union is represented by the versatile Professor as our commercial and financial salvation. Truly it is depicted as the panacea to all ills existing or germinating. But what commends it most to his judgment is that it is the only means of crushing and denationalizing French-Canada—Britishers having failed to do it—with the view of americanizing the whole northern continent. I will not discuss the following quotations—which are all from last September—as to dispose of Commercial Union from a French stand point it will be sufficient to put them before the public :

“It is said Quebec is against commercial union. If she is it is not on any commercial grounds. It is because the dominant and tithe levying priesthood of Quebec wants to keep its domain in a state of isolation and shrinks from any increase of intercourse with the religious equality and free opinion of the American Republic.”

“While I have watched the action of the unifying forces which draw us toward our kinsmen in the United States, I have also watched the growth both in bulk and in intensity within our own political border of a French nationality as alien to us as anything can well be, which seems fatal to our hope of a really united Canada.”

“In truth our one chance of modifying the French element and arresting its growth into an alien nationality, appears to be to open it to the full influence of the English-speaking continent, which may be strong enough for the work of assimilation, while that of British Canada alone has proved to be too weak. The very reason which makes the ecclesiastics of Quebec recoil from commercial union with the Republic ought to make us the more ready to embrace it.”

To show the intolerance of the French you expatiate on the unfairness of the tithe system. But I fail to see why you are so much con-

cerned. The tithes are paid by the Catholic farmers of Lower Canada. They are intended for the support of a clergy which the people have learned to love. The Catholic farmers do not complain. They pay the tithes cheerfully, without murmur. The suits on that account are very rare. The tithes have been reduced to the twenty-sixth part of the harvest and they are collected without the slightest harshness. They are even remitted in cases of extreme poverty. No evictions. If the farmers do not feel aggrieved why should you denounce the system? The tithes do not affect Protestants. They are not called upon to pay a farthing. You give up your whole case when quoting Lord Durham you admit that "the priest loses his tithe the moment that an estate "passes, by sale or otherwise, into the hands of a Protestant." At the time of the American Revolution the French-Canadian farmers were offered the abolition of tithes, among other privileges, if they would transfer their political allegiance to the Republic. They refused to do so. In fact, the only serious agitation ever made for their abolition was inaugurated in 1849 by *les enfants terribles* of the Rouge party. That so-called reform became an article of the programme of *l'Avenir*. But it has been set aside since, Jean-Baptiste sternly refusing to countenance it. When Lord Durham stated in his celebrated report that those who fired at the British flag in 1837, expected the overthrow of tithes, he only proved how much he was misinformed as to some of the causes of the revolt. The grievances of the French, as they existed at that period, have been enumerated in a famous paper called the Ninety-two Resolutions, which was submitted in 1834 to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. These resolutions were drawn, I am proud to state, by the first editor of *La Minerve*, my illustrious predecessor, Hon. A. N. Morin. They are mainly directed against the violation by the Executive and the Legislative Council, sustained as they were by Downing Street, of all the principles of sound constitutional government, but you will fail to find in them the slightest reference to the supposed iniquity of the tithe system.

It is a great crime, in your estimation, that French priests should desire that the property around them should belong as much as possible to their own flocks. But that crime, I am sure, is common to ministers of all denominations, and it is trivial enough to dispense with any defence. It will suffice to deny most emphatically that the sale of properties or the interchange of trade between Catholic and Protestant is prohibited or interfered with by our priests. Many English traders will tell you that their best customers are Catholics.

No doubt our clergy encourage our people to protect themselves. Do not forget that Freemasonry does not exist among Catholics. No doubt also our clergy encourage the taking possession of the soil. Our most zealous champions of colonisation are such men as Curé Labelle, Father Gendreau and many others. They have learned to know that the hard-working yeomanry is always the purest, the strongest, the safest, the most devoted to the institutions, and the bulwark of a community. Blessed be their names ! Most beneficial is their patriotic labour.

You are chagrined because the first Cardinal of Canada was handsomely treated by the two political parties in Quebec—by Protestants as well as Catholics. You should rather have commended the Protestant representatives who, imitating the Anglican Bishop of Montreal, and rising above religious bigotry, justly felt that the conferring of the *berretta* upon Archbishop Taschereau was a distinction which reflected credit on the whole nation and a tribute to the growing importance of Canada. When Cardinal Newman received the Roman purple, the most enlightened minds of England were the first to congratulate one of the great men of the age. When Archbishop McCloskey was raised to the Cardinalate, he being the first American citizen to enter the Sacred College, the satisfaction was universal. His distinction was considered as being conferred not only upon millions of Catholics but on the République itself. The New-York *Herald* of the 28th April, 1875, gave vent to that satisfaction in the following glowing terms :—

The investiture of the Cardinal yesterday at St Patrick's Cathedral was an important event in the history of America. The Catholic Church has played in civilization for more than a thousand years, a part too active for such a ceremony to be without world-wide significance. Religion is a power in America When we remember that the Catholic Church has been and is one of the greatest civilizing agents in the world, and that it must continue to have a profound influence upon society, we rejoice that its position in the United States has had formal recognition from its supreme head. The appointment of Mgr. McCloskey as Cardinal by the Pope is a compliment in the highest degree to the millions of Catholics in America

These sentiments do not surprise those who are familiar with American history. In 1778, Washington selected his friend Dr. Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore, to accompany Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll, when they were entrusted with the unsuccessful mission of enlisting my ancestors under the Stars and Stripes. During the last civil war, it was an eminent Catholic prelate, Archbishop Hughes of New-York, who was delegated by Lincoln to confer with Emperor

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Napoleon in order to prevent him from throwing the great influence of France on behalf of the South. But the other day, when most solemn festivities were held at Philadelphia, in the very cradle of the Republic, under the auspices of President Cleveland, to celebrate the centenary of the American Constitution, Cardinal Gibbons was requested to invoke the blessing of God upon the American nation.

The flattering opinion of French Canada which I have quoted from a speech of Lord Dufferin, is treated by you as mere "taffy." You believe evidently that our late Governor deserves the dubious compliment paid one day to a prominent politician : " He will make a good diplomat, he knows how to lie." I quote your very words :— " Lord Dufferin was not in the habit of looking the facts in the face " when addressing the people. It was not expected of him. His business " was to please, and be pleased." To satisfy you, I shall cite another speech of Lord Dufferin, not delivered to a French meeting when courting applause, as you suggest, but made in the very stronghold of John Bull, at a public dinner tendered to him in London on the 7th July, 1875. Perhaps you will accept this as his " serious opinion " :—

And here, perhaps, I may be permitted to remark on the extraordinary ability and intelligence with which the French portion of her Majesty's subjects in Canada join with their British fellow-countrymen in working the constitutional privileges with which, thanks to the initiative they were the first to take, their country has been endowed. Our French fellow countrymen are, in fact, more parliamentary than the English themselves, and in the various fortunes of the colony there have never been wanting French statesmen of eminence to claim an equal share with their British colleagues in shaping the history of the Dominion. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, in Canada, at all events, the French race has learned the golden rule of moderation and the necessity of arriving at practical results by the occasional sacrifice of logical symmetry and the settlement of disputes in the spirit of a generous compromise. (Cheers.) The fruit of this happy state of things is observable in the fact that nowhere do those differences of opinion which divide the political world of every country separate the Canadian nation either into religious or ethnological factions. Religion and race are, of course, observable forces acting within our body politic, but as far perpendicular rather than horizontal, and in a county and borough election as often as not Catholic will be found voting against Catholic, Orangeman against Orangeman, Frenchman against Frenchman, and what, perhaps, will cause less surprise, Irishman against Irishman.

THE MAIL does not accept my " dream " of a Canadian nationality. It even asserts that there " is no instance in modern times where two " races, divided in language, laws and sentiment, and kept asunder by " the deliberate contrivance of their constitution, have managed to " form a permanent community." What an historical heresy ! The very

first instance cited by THE MAIL destroys its contention. I quote again: "Austria-Hungary, with its Babel of races, is only held together by fear of Russian absorption and by the absolutist methods of its rulers." I would rather say that the Empire is held together by a community of interests and by the extended liberties which had to be granted to its 37,000,000 of Germans, Roumanians, Magyars, Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Servians, Croats, Latins, etc., etc. Your very objection was formulated when the scheme of Confederation was under debate, and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie promptly silenced the anti-unionist. You will find more than one hard nut to crack in the following:

I believe that feeling of loyalty has been our sole difficulty in working our present political system. But I do not believe for one moment that it would be possible or perhaps desirable to extinguish that strong feeling of nationality. Break down that feeling and all patriotism will be broken down with it. (Hear, hear). I do not think it would be fair, or kind or honourable to attempt to do so. When Britain conquered the country she accepted the responsibility of governing a foreign people in accordance with their feelings, so far as consistent with British policy. That feeling of nationality obtains so strongly in all countries that where attempts have been made, as in Austria, to break it down they have signally failed. When such an attempt failed, though made by a despotic Government, with a powerful army at its command, how could we expect it to succeed in a free country? In Austria, at this moment, eighteen different nationalities are represented in the national councils, and, notwithstanding all its military power and prestige, Austria has been compelled to accord local parliaments or assemblies to every one of those eighteen nationalities. (Hear, hear).

If the union of Belgium and Holland has been broken, the divorce does not imply all that you say. Though separated Belgium is not an homogeneous nation. It is still composed of four ethnical elements. The last census (1880) states that there are 2,237,867 Belgians who speak French only, 2,479,747 who speak Flemish only, 41,046 German only, 420,339 French and English, 35,324 French and German, 2,809 Flemish and German, 13,410 who speak all three languages, and 6,412 who do not speak any of the three. It was but the other day the Flemish was recognized as the second official language of Belgium. And still the throne of Leopold remains unshaken.

But while surveying Austria-Hungary, the *Mail* should have mentioned a small Confederation, surrounded by a chain of snowy peaks, situated in the midst of the most powerful nations of Europe, and which has succeeded in maintaining its perfect independence and the

autonomy of its various nationalities, during many centuries. In visiting Switzerland several years ago I was struck with many characteristics peculiar to our country. I saw three small races scattered over their lofty mountains or densely settled in the valleys, or on the shores of their many beautiful lakes, speaking three of the most popular modern languages—the French, the Italian and the German—keeping religiously their customs and their traditions, but strongly imbued with the idea of a common destiny, with the determination to maintain the integrity of their territory, as enamoured of liberty as in the days of William Tell. The German language is spoken by 2,030,792; the French, by 608,007; the Italian, 161,923, and the Roumansch, 38,705. You predict all sorts of evils because there are two languages recognized by the constitution of Canada, the two noblest exponents of modern civilization. Switzerland goes one point further, it recognizes three official languages, French, German and Italian, and the republic is not undermined thereby. Are you not convinced?

There is a little island under the very shadow of England, which has preserved its French laws, its French language, its various peculiarities, the Island of Jersey. Where could we find a population more loyal, more devoted to England, although it almost faces the coasts of France, its former proprietor? The language of Lord Thurlow uttered in the British Parliament (1775), may be properly quoted here:—"It is said that Englishmen carry their political constitution with them wherever they go, and that they are oppressed if they are deprived of any of those laws. I assert that if an Englishman goes to a country conquered by his government, he does not bring these English laws; such a contention would be as reasonable as to say that when an Englishman goes to Guernsey the laws of the city of London follow him there."

Is not the United Kingdom herself composed of distinct races? The estrangement of Ireland does not result mainly from a difference of nationality or religion. It is the outcome of centuries of misgovernment and misunderstandings culminating in the abolition of her native Parliament. And can we forget the example of the United States, one of the greatest agglomerations of peoples diversified by their religion, their language and their customs! Still the American Eagle has restrained them all, still that agglomeration has become a great political unity. *E pluribus unum.*

My dream of a Canadian nationality does not mean the absorption of either the French or the English-speaking element. Both are strong

enough to resist absorption. Encouraged by our onward march, there are even optimists who think that the French-Canadian metal would stand the test if thrown altogether into the American chaldron. My dream is to see our various races striving to develop the resources of the country, preserving the pact of Confederation, preparing our future possibilities, making of Canada the freest country in the broadest and most Christian sense of the word. In the magnificent harbour of New-York our neighbours have erected the statue of Liberty enlightening the world—a present from old France—but I assert that our institutions are by far already the finest on the continent. A great British statesman has truly said that our system of government was a happy compound of the best features of the British and American constitutions. Familiar as you are with our unrivalled fluvial communications, you have noticed that the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa meet and run together at the head of the Island of Montreal ; they do not merge their waters, they hold their peculiar colour, still they run swiftly, still they form united a beautiful river, our pride, the admiration of the tourist. Let the English and French do the same. Let them unite without assimilating. Let them live alongside, preserving in all its purity, improving even the blood of nations which runs through the best part of humanity. Let them pursue the plan of Providence which has assigned special missions to races and has made them as diversified as nature itself. The other day a prominent writer reviewing the last census of France, came to the conclusion that the population was increasing very slowly, and to refute the assertion that the French blood had degenerated, almost struck with paralysis, he instanced the wonderful multiplication of French-Canadians in the New World. Let also the English and French maintain their peculiarities ; let them worship God according to their conscience ; let them speak the language of Shakespeare or Corneille, or rather let them learn and speak both. The day is nigh when your leading classes will have to be familiar with our language, and the public mind will be broadened and the barrier separating two races will be suppressed thereby.* Let them unite the genius, the

*The great educational value of learning a language other than our own is sufficient reason why French should be taught in every English school in this Province that aspires to anything beyond the most elementary instruction. That the language of the majority of our own people should have precedence over Latin in common schools goes without saying, unless we wish to educate our children for exile, as too many are doing. The fact that not only France, but Canada has a magnificent French literature, affords the material for gaining from the study both linguistic and patriotic advantages which should make French to us besides our own the first among languages.—*The Witness*, March 3, 1888.

wonderful capabilities of their races ; let them engraft Anglo-Saxon boldness and endurance on Celtic vivacity and brilliancy, and Canada shall become, according to the prediction of the late W. H. Seward, the Russia of North America, but a Russia endowed with a far higher degree of freedom and civilization. To be peopled, to be civilized, this northern half of the continent requires all the united energies of its inhabitants. *Unum in pluribus*. In his remarkable speech on Confederation, twenty-two years ago, Cartier exclaimed : " The time has come to build up a great nation." Such should be the dominant object of old and young Canada. Let us not lose the present opportunities. Of nations it might be said as of individuals :

" There is a tide in the affairs of man,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune :
Omitted, all the voyage of their life is spent
In shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current as it flows,
Or lose our venture."

There are other points, other charges contained in your article which remain untouched. With your permission I shall discuss them in another letter. Were I to trespass too much on your space you might object with reason, I confess, to this new form of French invasion.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

Montreal, October 6, 1887.

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THIRD LETTER.

Opinion of Lord Durham on the French Canadian clergy.—“The Mail” will not dare to quote it.—Minority ruling majority before 1841.—Lower Canada was first to enfranchise Jews.—The Oka Case.—Intermingling of Norman and Anglo-Saxon blood.—Catholic properties not more exempted from taxes than Protestants.—The examination of students before the bar.—Why the French text is taken while conflicting with the English.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

You quote frequently the celebrated report of Lord Durham to illustrate the so-called grievances of the British minority of Quebec and the so-called intolerance of the Catholic clergy. As I had not read the Report for some years I thought it desirable to refresh my memory. Imagine my surprise—a surprise that will reach your readers—when, fully impressed with your candour, I found that you had stopped your quotation at a very interesting point, one which destroys your argument. Instead of a wholesale denunciation of the clergy of Lower Canada which your quotation had led me to expect, I met the most splendid tribute of respect and admiration ever rendered by their most ardent defenders. What I shall cite precedes and follows your quotation about the tithes :

It is a subject of very just congratulation that religious differences have hardly operated as an additional cause of dissension in Lower Canada ; and that a degree of practical toleration known in very few communities, has existed in this colony from the period of the conquest down to the present time.

The French-Canadians are exclusively Catholics and their Church has been left in possession of the endowments which it had at the conquest. (Here follows your

quotation.) But the Catholic priesthood of this province have, to a remarkable degree, conciliated the goodwill of persons of all creeds ; and I know of no parochial clergy in the world whose practice of all the Christian virtues and zealous discharge of their clerical duties is more universally admitted, and has been productive of more beneficial consequences. Possessed of incomes sufficient and even large, according to the notions entertained in the country, and enjoying the advantage of education, they have lived on terms of equality and kindness with the humblest and least instructed inhabitants of the rural districts. Intimately acquainted with the wants and characters of their neighbours they have been the promoters and dispensers of charity and the effectual guardians of the morals of the people ; and in the general absence of any permanent institutions of civil government, the Catholic Church has presented almost the only semblance of stability and organization, and furnished the only effectual support for civilization and order. The Catholic clergy of Lower Canada are entitled to this expression of my esteem, not only because it is founded on truth, but because a grateful recognition of their eminent services in resisting the arts of the disaffected, is especially due to them from one who has administered the government of the province in those troubled times.

I would be warranted to stop there, having turned your very authority, your very battery, against you, but I have no objection to discuss the merits of your whole argument. I was almost amazed to learn that in 1835 it was not the French majority that was oppressed, but the English minority. To support that extraordinary view you refer to a petition of the Montreal Constitutional Association presented to the Crown. A very lame excuse when we know that the feud between the majority and the minority existed since 1763. A very lame excuse when we know that such petitions, such remonstrances, aiming always at the same object, were presented to the British Parliament whenever it wanted to give us an instalment of liberty, to treat us not as aliens, but as free men. You might just as well assert that the evicted in Ireland are not the tenants but the landlords ; that the slaves of the South were not the coloured people, but the planters ; that when Catholic emancipation was promulgated in England, under the advice of Lord Wellington, it was another religion that had been persecuted heretofore. Such is the logic of the wolf against the lamb. To have an insight of the state of things then existing, it would suffice to read the following article of the ninety-two resolutions submitted in 1834 to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, and to which I have already adverted. It is taken from the Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, session 1834, p. 329 :—

75. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee that the number of the inhabitants of the country being about 600,000, those of French origin are about 525,000 and those of British or other origin 75,000 ; and that the establishment of the Civil

Government of Lower Canada, for the year 1832, according to the yearly returns made by the Provincial Administration, for the information of the British Parliament, contained the names of 157 officers and others receiving salaries who are apparently of British or foreign origin, and the names of 47 who are apparently natives of the country of French origin ; that this statement does not exhibit the whole disproportion which exists in the distribution of the public money and power, the latter class being for the most part appointed to the inferior and less lucrative offices, and most frequently only obtaining even these by becoming the dependents of those who hold the higher and more lucrative offices ; that the accumulation of many of the best paid and most influential, and at the same time incompatible offices in the same person, which is forbidden by the law and by sound policy, exists especially for the benefit of the former class ; and that two-thirds of the persons included in the last Commission of the Peace issued in the Province are apparently of British or foreign origin, and one-third only of French origin.

Whilst striving to prove that we are illiberal, intolerant, retrograde, you leave in the shade many good points in our favour. You forget, for instance, that the very Province of Quebec, charged with so much bigotry and intolerance, was the first to enfranchise the Jews, to open to them the doors of our Legislature. Ezekiel Hart, of Three Rivers, could have been admitted in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada thirty-six years before Baron Rothschild could enter Westminster palace and " sit down upon the mysterious cushions of green leather," to use the words of Macaulay. Of course the enfranchisement of the Jews occasioned much strife and more than one struggle, which, I may mention, was reviewed by me several years ago in *La Revue Canadienne* under the heading " The Political Rights of the Jews in Lower Canada." This uncommon example of liberality for the time struck the attention of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, who said in his speech on Confederation :—

As regards the people of Lower Canada of French origin, and who are Roman Catholics, I have always heard it said in their favour, that a large degree of liberalism characterizes their conduct towards their Protestant neighbours. (Hear, hear.) Lower Canada, I believe, was the first portion of British territory to give political freedom to the Jews. I believe that a person of this persuasion sat in the Lower Canada Legislature thirty years before the same privileges were accorded in Great Britain. People who charge the French-Canadians with intolerance should remember this with some degree of favour.

I do not need to enter into the merits of the Oka case, which you so frequently mention. That case is no longer *sub justice*. After years of discussion, after the presentation of many memorials, that case has been adjudicated upon by a Protestant Minister, nay, by the Prime

Minister himself, then General Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in favour of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. It was a case of vested rights and it was decided accordingly. To settle the difficulty with the Protestant Indians of Oka the Seminary agreed to certain terms for their removal westward, and those terms have been scrupulously observed. Where is the outrage ?

The case of St. Barbe is not so harsh as you imagine. The system of Lower Canada rests on the parochial basis. And that system is the most perfect in the world, according to a great authority, the celebrated Le Play, who made a thorough study of the economic fabric of almost every people. There are three species of parishes, the Roman Catholic Parish, the Protestant Parish and the municipal Parish, which is equally distinct from the two others. The limits of a parish determined by the Catholic Bishop of the diocese are generally accepted by the civil authorities. They may be enlarged or lessened however. In all cases a proclamation from the Lieutenant-Governor in council is necessary for the erection of the religious parish into a civil parish. But it becomes a municipal parish by the very fact of its erection into a civil parish, if it does not contain any portion of a township (*Municipal Code*, art. 26). To be formed a parish municipality must contain 300 souls. It may exist for civil purposes where there is no canonical parish. In 1851, a special statute was even passed authorizing the Protestants of the Seigniorie of Argenteuil, County of Two Mountains, to form parishes for civil and municipal purposes only.

The now celebrated parish of St. Barbe is situated in the County of Huntingdon. It has been detached from the parish of St Anicet, an old *civil* parish separated from the township of Godmanchester, and declared a *municipal* parish in 1855. It was erected into a civil parish in the ordinary way, by proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor, on June 12th, 1882, notice having been given by the civil authorities. Nothing could be more regular. But as the civil proclamation gave larger limits than those assigned by the canonical degree, and as some other points had been raised, it was thought proper to put an end to all doubts and to ask the Legislature to pass an act fixing the true delimitation, which was done by unanimous assent. The protestant ratepayers did not want the parish to be recognized municipally because they would have to pay their share of the local expenditure and there would be an increase of the Catholic representation in the county council, each mayor of a municipality being *ex-officio* a member of that body. It occurred that the majority of the

county council espoused their cause and refused the admission of the mayor of St. Barbe, Damase Perron. The parish applied for a writ of mandamus to compel the Huntingdon county council to give a seat to its mayor, and carried its point. On the 6th september 1887, His Hon. Judge Belanger decided that "the defendant (the county council) is in the wrong, and is enjoined and ordered to recognize the said Damase Perron as a member of said council, and to admit him to the exercise of his rights, privileges and obligations as such, and in default, is liable to a fine of \$2,000, payable to the Crown, and the defendant is liable for the costs." You may now judge on what side were the law-abiders and the law-breakers.

To come to another point, I will admit that the Church, whilst not prohibiting, discourages marriages between Catholic and Protestant. The Church being the depository of truth cannot favour unions whose offspring are exposed to belong to another religion. Still there are a good many unions of that kind. But the Church assents to them on the condition that the children shall be educated in the Catholic faith. Besides, all Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen are not Protestants. According to last census, there were in the Dominion 1,791,982 Catholics and 1,299,161 French. Then there existed 492,821 Catholics of other origins, which leaves a broad ground for intermingling even among people of my creed. As the *Mail* fails to see "the infusion of Norman blood into the veins of English-Canadians," I will tell him that whole English-speaking settlements have been absorbed in the district of Quebec, including that of Murray Bay. In this connection I may recall an anecdote much to the point. A few years ago I went to that favourite summer resort to enjoy the salty breezes of the Gulf, far from the everlasting cares of our beloved and hard profession. There I met my good friend, Mr. Warnock, a leading Irish Catholic of Ottawa, also in search of fresh air and rest. Being unacquainted with the French language, Mr. Warnock wanted to deal with a hotelkeeper familiar with his own tongue. Du Berger, Chamard and such other well-known names in the locality, had too much of the French sound. Warran's hotel was picked up on the list as the very house he wanted, there he would feel at home, there he could chat and move freely. So Mr. Warnock hastened to shelter himself under the roof of Mr. Warran. But imagine his stupefaction when he discovered that his host was a degenerated Scotchman, unable to utter a single word of English, more French than any living man he knew, whilst Du Berger, the French hotelkeeper, next to him, could speak English as easily as his mother tongue. So my friend Mr. Warnock was badly

caught, and concluded probably that there is not always much in a name. So much also for French ignorance ! Now, if you refer to the House of Commons, you will find that three of its leading members, the Hon. Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State ; the Hon. Mr. Landry, M.P. for Kent, New Brunswick, and Mr. Girouard, M.P. for Jacques Cartier, are married (the last one for a second time) to English-speaking ladies. And they never were chastised by their constituents for having intermingled their Norman blood ! The first French Senator of Ontario, Hon. Mr. Casgrain, did not marry a woman of his race, Mr. Bain, M.P. for Soulanges, and Mr. McMillan, M.P. for Vaudreuil, both married to French women, are of Scotch-French extraction. Mr. Duckett, the late M.P.P. for Soulanges, was the descendant of Irish and French parents. The Hon. Mr. McShane, Minister of Public Works in the Province of Quebec, has captured one of the French beauties, but his colleague, Hon. Mr. Turcotte, is wedded to Miss Macdonald. The Hon. Mr. Blanchet, late Provincial Secretary, has united his destinies to the daughter of General Seymour, and Mr. Tessier, M.P.P. for Portneuf, is married to another accomplished woman, Miss Barnard, of Montreal. Miss Nolan was the second wife of the late Governor Cauchon, and Miss Macdonald, daughter of the celebrated Sandfield Macdonald, was the wife of the late Mr. Langlois, M.P. for Montmorency. General Middleton is married to Miss Doucet, of Montreal. To refer to Vaudreuil County I may state that the father of Mr. McMillan, M.P., represented the county for several years, and that one of its first members was the late Mr. Harwood, an English Protestant, married to Miss de Lotbinière, and father of Lieut.-Colonel Harwood, who also represented the county before the Union. And I could quote numberless instances of this nature. With such a record, how can you charge us with national bigotry and intolerance, with systematic hatred of the English ?

From your article, one might infer that Catholics alone benefit by the " exemption from taxation of enormous clerical estates." I hold the view, I must confess, that churches, presbyteries, benevolent institutions are deservedly exempted from taxes ; they would have to be supported any how at the expense of the community. But I need not argue that point since you charge that Catholics are unduly favoured to the prejudice of Protestants. Without going further, let us take the case of Montreal, the most important, the most illustrative probably, that could be enquired into. The report of the auditor for the year 1886 shows that there were Catholic exemptions for \$6,206,190, and Protestant exemptions for \$2,784,800. The other exemptions

were : Government property, \$2,419,500 ; municipal property, \$4,336,500 ; various exemptions, \$772,500. Total, \$16,519,450. At the last census, the population of the city was 140,747, of whom 78,684 were of French and 28,995 of Irish origin ; as to religion, 103,579 were Roman Catholics. Since the municipalities of Hochelaga, St. John Baptist and St. Gabriel have been annexed, the population exceeds 185,000 according to municipal returns, and the Catholic proportion is still larger than it was in 1881. Where is the injustice ?

I quote again : " The attempt to compel the students of McGill " and other Protestant colleges to submit to an examination in subjects taught only in Roman Catholic colleges... and other circumstances go to show that the Church is obeying that natural instinct " which under favourable conditions such as here exists leads all ecclesiastical establishments to extend the sphere of their authority." There has been no such attempt and the Catholic Church has as much to do with the examination of the students of McGill and other protestant colleges as the Great Lama himself. The system of examination by the Bar in Quebec prevails also in Ontario. Two examinations are required in your province before the bar examiners from all law students, whether graduated or not. In Quebec, never have the graduates in arts, literature or sciences of any university, either French or English, Catholic or Protestant, been admitted to the study of the law without a preliminary examination by the Bar on their classical attainments. Nay, never have the graduates in law of any university in Canada been admitted to the practice of the law, without having been first admitted to study by the Bar examiners ; without having studied with a practising advocate during four or five years, and, finally, without passing an examination in law before the Bar examiners. Changes have been made in the law respecting the legal profession, but their effect has been to raise the standard of classical and legal studies. The preliminary examination is conducted by three professors in classical colleges, the programme having been adopted unanimously by English as well as by French advocates, including professors of McGill and Laval, members of the board of examiners and of the general council. The programme of the Bar requires an examination in French, English and Latin, history, literature, geography, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, moral and intellectual philosophy, and elementary notions on chemistry and natural philosophy. All these subjects are taught in the French colleges as well as in McGill College, and I fail to see how they are more Catholic than Protestant, more French than English. The bar council is composed

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of six sections, Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers, Sherbrooke, Artha-
baska and Bedford, electing each three members, and out of eighteen
examiners eight are English. This does not look like Protestant
exclusion.*

"Now it is a rule of the Assembly that where the French and
"English version of a statute are conflicting the French version shall
"prevail ; English being thus relegated to a subordinate position."
Why should you object ? Two thirds of the province are French
speaking, and the majority rules under British law. In the Dominion
the English text prevails in such cases and we do not object : could
you not imitate our spirit of justice ?

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

Montréal, October 10, 1887.

* For further information see three Letters published by Mr. Pagnuelo, Q. C.,
in the *Montreal Gazette* under the heading : *Universities and the Bar. A Criticism of*
the annual Report of McGill University.

FOURTH LETTER.

The school law of Quebec.—More regardful of the rights of minorities than any other existing save Manitoba.—The separate school bill of Ontario (1863).—Denunciations of the "*Globe*".—Some articles of the Quebec law.—Protestants receiving more than they were entitled to.—Evidence of Hon. Mr. Chauveau.—Our priests and nuns the educators of the continent.—The great celebration of Nicolet.—Tribute of the late Edward Carter to the services rendered by the clergy to the cause of education.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

Are you really in earnest when you refer to the "illiberal character" of our school law? Save Manitoba, there is not a school law more just, better digested, better balanced, more regardful of the rights of the minority in any other part of the Dominion or in any country. It may not be perfect, but perfect laws are to come. Still it is considered by some as the most perfect existing. Any fair suggestion, any real improvement will, I am convinced, find no systematic opposition in the proper quarters. They will discuss any proposed changes, as they have done heretofore, intelligently, impartially, progressively. The laws of Medes and Persians were unchangeable, but we do not imitate them, our statutes suffering probably from the other extreme. I have excepted Manitoba, but even in that province there was an agitation, ten years ago, to repeal the Separate School Act. That agitation had been nursed by the *Toronto Globe*, true to its old traditions. But the agitators had forgotten that the system could not be altered by a stroke of the pen, that it was an essential part of the charter constituting the Province

of Manitoba. The eminent and universally respected Archbishop Taché taught them a lesson in a series of letters published in the *Standard*, which silenced fanaticism and cannot but impress favourably any broad minded man. Every one knows how the minority was treated in New Brunswick ; the disturbing events of 1872 are too fresh to be yet forgotten. After a most energetic resistance, after an unsuccessful appeal to the Privy Council, after the grossest outrages had been perpetrated, even the carriage of Bishop Sweeny being seized to pay taxes to the Public school fund, the Catholic minority had to submit, and what has been done since to improve their condition is the result of mere tolerance.

Can you dispute the fact that the school law of Quebec is far more liberal, far more extensive in its protection than that of Ontario, improved as it has been of late ? The Province of Quebec, with a population mostly French, mostly Catholic, was the first to grant dissentient schools to the minority. In fact, Protestant schools have at all times been recognized and supported by its government since 1763. In Ontario, separate schools were the outcome of a long, obstinate and violent struggle. Remember the thunderings of the *Globe* of those days. Remember the incessant appeals of George Brown to religious passions and prejudices. Remember his virulent denunciations of priests and nuns, whom he compared to the vilest creatures. But for the support of Sir John A. Macdonald, of the late Hon. Hillyard Cameron, of Mr. Powell, M.P. for Carleton, and several leading Orange members, more liberal than the Browns, the Mackenzies, the Mowats of that epoch—they have reformed since—the demand of the Catholics of Ontario would not have culminated in the passing of the Separate School Act in 1863. The following extract gives a slight idea of the manner in which the Protestant members who voted for the bill were denounced by the *Globe* (1863):—"There remains but one duty to the electors of the West. Every man who votes for Scott's bill must be noted at the next election. Soulless must be the friends of education who shall vote for one of these trucklers to the Romish hierarchy." In this connection, I may recall the fact that if Salvationists were ill-treated the other day in Quebec and Ottawa by intolerant mobs, not composed exclusively of Catholics, the Sisters of Charity, inoffensive, unobtrusive as they are, were stoned at one time in the very streets of enlightened Toronto.

Improved as it has been, the Separate school system of Ontario is still very crude and "illiberal" compared to that of Quebec. Here, while dissentient schools were legalized and subsidized at the outset,

the Protestant minority has secured an independent section of the Board of Education, a secretary or deputy superintendent, Protestant school inspectors, board of examiners, a proportion of Government grants, according to population and the number of pupils, the endowment of two Protestant universities, McGill and Bishop's, of a Normal school, &c., &c. You are quite wrong in reflecting on "the illiberal character of the school law which, in those districts where they are unable to support a Separate school, leaves the Protestants the option of keeping their children at home or of sending them to the Public school, where, the Church being supreme, the teaching is sectarian." The law is as liberal as it can be in that respect. So much so that it has been adopted for the Catholic minority of Ontario. In the cities there is a complete division of school taxes according to population. In the rural districts the Protestant has the right to pay taxes to a Protestant school situated beyond the municipality where his property is situated, even when he is a non-resident. Let us see a few articles of the Act to amend the law respecting education in the Province of Quebec (1869):—

The grants to the normal schools, and all other grants whatsoever for educational purposes, and all expenses of the Government for educational purposes, shall be divided between the Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions, and for the benefit of Roman Catholics and Protestants respectively, in proportion to the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations of the province, at the then last census.

Dissentients shall not be liable for any assessment or school rate which may be imposed by the school commissioners, except for the assessment of the then current year, for assessments for the public, of any schoolhouse previously contracted for, or for the payment of debts previously incurred.

Any dissentient may, at any time, declare in writing his intention of ceasing to support the dissentient school.

Any non-resident proprietor may declare in writing his intention of dividing his taxes between the schools of the majority and those of the minority.

Whenever the school trustees of the minority in two adjoining municipalities shall be unable to support a school in each municipality, it shall be lawful for them to unite and to establish and maintain under their joint management, a school which shall be situated as near the limits of both municipalities as possible so as to be accessible to both.

Whenever there shall be no dissentient school in a municipality, it shall be lawful for any resident, head of a family pursuing the religious faith of the minority in the said municipality, and having children of school age, to declare in writing to the chairman of the school commissioners that he intends to support a school in a neighbouring municipality, which school shall be not more than three miles distant from his residence: and he shall, therefore, pay, subject to the restrictions above mentioned, his taxes to the commissioners or trustees, as the case may be, by whom such school shall be maintained.

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In Ontario, there is no Catholic board of education. Such a system based on that of Quebec was proposed a few years ago by Mr. Meredith, leader of the Opposition, in one of his campaign speeches, but we shall have to wait a change of Government, I presume, for its adoption. There is no Catholic secretary, no Normal school, etc. Pursuing your grievances, you also complain of the "unfair manner" in which the school tax on industrial and commercial corporations, "which are controlled chiefly by the English, is distributed." Such a tax, I confess, presents great difficulties in its apportionment. How can you state that the stockholders of any bank, insurance, loan company, etc., are Protestants or Catholics, when the book stock is liable to be changed, when the balance of power can be overturned at any moment? How can you apportion the taxes levied upon them according to the creed of the shareholders? How would you class, for instance, the Jews, who are not an insignificant part of the financial world? I fail to see it. Suppose you allot to the Protestant fund the taxes paid by an institution of which the greater number of its shareholders are supposed to be Protestants, are you not violating the very principle of the law in appropriating the contributions of the minority towards the support of the schools of the majority, and *vice-versa*? Still these corporations are fully protected and they have only to make a declaration, through their agent, if they want that their taxes should be paid in the Catholic or the Protestant fund. The law states that every year there shall be prepared in the cities of Montreal and Quebec a statement relating to the assessment, which shall be divided into four distinct panels: Panel number one shall consist of real estate belonging exclusively to Catholics; panel number two of the real estate belonging to Protestants; panel number three of the real estate belonging to corporations, or to persons neither Catholics nor Protestants, or to firms and commercial partnerships who shall not have declared through their agent, or one of their members, their desire of being placed on the first or on the second panel; panel number four of the real estate exempted from taxation. We have to deal presently with panel number three, or the neutral school tax. The law states also that "a sum proportionate to the value of the property inscribed on panel number three shall be divided between the Roman Catholic and Protestant boards in the relative ratio of the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations in the said cities according to the last census. The remainder of the said amount shall be divided between the Roman Catholic and Protestant boards in the relative ratio of the value of the property inscribed on

"panel number one and on panel number two respectively." On that very basis are distributed the Government grants. This is the fairest, the least objectionable, the least imperfect system, which has been adopted after mature deliberation.

Minorities are naturally inclined to find out grievances. A little bit of history will serve as an illustration. In 1864 there was quite a flurry in Lower Canada over this very question. Some active Protestants, very mindful, very jealous of their rights, complained bitterly that they were unfairly treated, that they were not receiving their fair share of provincial grants. What was the result? Hon. Mr. Chauveau, then Superintendent of Education, a man of broad views, superior to any national or religious bias, studied carefully their complaints, and had to come to the conclusion that they could not be substantiated. If you have not already done so, I will commend the reading of the pamphlet which he published :— "A few remarks on the meeting at Montreal for the formation of an association for the protection and promotion of the educational interests of Protestants in Lower Canada." This paper will convince you that the grievance should not have been uttered by the Protestants, but by the Catholics, and that the grant obtained by the former had always been much larger than that which they could claim, taking as basis the present one, the number of the population and of the pupils, the Protestant minority had been receiving 30.25 per cent, whilst they were entitled to 14.98. Does this look like intolerance, trampling of Protestants' rights, appropriation of Protestant funds for Catholic purposes? This being a very serious matter, of great moment to our Protestant fellow-citizens, whom you are endeavouring to revolt against our "illiberal school law," I will extract a few statistics from that pamphlet, with the comments of such an authority as the Hon. Mr. Chauveau :—

The department having been assailed on the subject of the Superior Education grant, we subjoin a table showing the distribution of the grant as between Protestant and Catholic institutions, in many instances it will be seen that Protestant institutions, with a much smaller number of pupils, receive the same or larger allowances than the Catholic institutions in the same place, and *vice versa*. As to the proportion between Catholic and Protestant institutions, the figures show that the Protestant section of the community has, upon the whole, no ground of complaint. The distribution gives the Protestant institutions 30.25 per cent, of the whole amount. The Catholic population, according to the census of 1861, was 943,253; the non-Catholic population, comprising persons whose creeds were unknown, was only 168,313. If the amount was distributed according to population, the Protestant institutions would receive 14.98 per cent.; they now have more than twice as much. If, on the contrary, the distribution was based on the aggregate number of pupils,

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Protestants would receive 17.48 per cent. The results of a comparison between the grants made to Catholic and to Protestant institutions in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, are still more striking. The Catholic population of Montreal is 65,896, and the non-Catholic 24,432. Yet the Protestants, who are not one third of the population, are receiving double the amount paid to Catholics. The Catholic population of the city of Quebec is 41,477, the non-Catholic population 9,732. The Protestants, who are not one fifth, get more than double the sum allowed Catholic institutions.

In the face of such facts, how can you assert with any reasonableness : " Toleration, as non-Catholics understand it, is not practised in Quebec..... In the power and privileges just enumerated the church possesses all the apparatus for making heresy and heretics uncomfortable ; and if, as Mr. Tassé implies, she has neglected to employ it for that purpose, she is open to the charge of shirking the duty imposed upon her by her own doctrine that she alone is truth, that Protestantism is error, and that hence toleration of Protestantism is a crime." No doubt the Church believes she is truth and Protestantism is error. But as to the righteousness of your conclusion that "hence tolération of Protestantism is a crime," let it be subject to the decision of the authorized exponent of Catholic faith, His Holiness Leo XIII : "The Church does not condemn the leaders of the state who, having some good to achieve or some evil to prevent, tolerate that in the practice the various religious denominations should exist in the State."

We are proud, Mr. Editor, of our university, of our colleges, of our convents, of our academies, of our school houses of all kinds. They have moulded more than one generation. They are the noble work of a noble succession of bishops, priests, and laymen, and of nuns, who, like the Vestals of old, have kept burning the sacred fire of nationality. Their names, their labours, from Laval down to Bourget, cannot be forgotten. They will last as long as virtue is remembered. But for them French Canada would not exist to-day. But for them we would not have produced those great men who, either in the religious or political arena, have been enabled to defend our rights and to lead us in the path of duty and honour. Now, more than ever, I feel greatly indebted to the college which gave me the necessary education to raise my voice, imperfect as it may be, and to defend my race in the very language of its traducers. These colleges, these convents have not been limited to my people ; their portals have been open to all races, to all creeds, to the whole New World. You have visited them and you have noticed, I am sure, that a good many of their pupils, in some cases a very large percentage, are of Anglo and

Irish Canadian extraction, and that hundreds of them, even hail from the United States. By the way, Catholic education is not so backward in Ontario as it is sometimes represented by *THE MAIL*, if it is true, as alleged by Principal Austin in your issue of last Saturday, that there are at present over 1,000 Protestant girls in the Roman Catholic Convent schools of the province. In that great institution, in that ancient seat of learning, called the Seminary of St. Sulpice, hundreds of American clergymen and some of their most eminent prelates, including the present Bishops of Boston and Portland, have studied science and theology. If I were mentioning laymen I could name such men as General Dix. Out of four hundred pupils, the College of Ottawa can claim every year eighty belonging to the Republic. I am not exaggerating in asserting that our religious orders, the Sulpicians, the Jesuits, the Father Oblates, the Fathers of St. Croix, the Clercs de St. Viateur, the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, the Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus and Mary, the Grey Nuns, etc., etc., have become to a certain extent the educators of the continent.* Not only are they distributing here to foreigners the bread of science, but they have established throughout the United States—even South America has witnessed their zeal—scores of institutions where the rising generation learns to become good Christians and good citizens. You are well acquainted with the holy life of Marguerite Bourgeois, the celebrated founder of that most important order of religious ladies called “The Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame.” Of that noble woman, as learned as she was virtuous, Parkman has truly said : “ To this day in

*As the Anglo-American dioceses are mostly of recent foundation with a Catholic population much disseminated, very few of them possess regular seminaries provided with sufficient teaching power. Under these circumstances the American bishops were and are still obliged to fall back upon the seminaries of Canada. All their best subjects, those that must receive an ecclesiastical education complete and somewhat elevated, are sent to one of the four great seminaries : Quebec, Montreal, Ste. Hyacinthe or Three Rivers. If one follows the ordinations which are held in these dioceses, he will ascertain that not only these theological students complete their education, but that great many of them receive all the degrees of ordination ; in certain years the number of subjects hailing from the United States (and from the English dioceses of the Dominion) almost equals the number of Canadian aspirants. These Canadian Seminaries render even more important services to the dioceses of British America than to those of the States, as they have educated almost exclusively all the young men who aspire to the priesthood, in Upper Canada and in the Maritime Provinces. Hence we may assert boldly that Lower Canada or French Canada has been, firstly by its missionaries, and secondly by its clergy and its seminaries, the real focus of the propagation of Catholicity in Northern America, and that it is yet to day the corner stone of the Catholic Church of that continent. — *Bulletin de l'Association de St François de Sales par Mgr Ségur* (Sept. 1879)

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"crowded school-houses of Montreal and Quebec, fit monuments of her
"unobstructive virtue, her successors instruct the children of the poor
"and embalm the pleasant memory of Marguerite Bourgeois. In the
"martial figure of Maisonneuve and the fair form of this gentle nun we
"find the two heroes of Montreal." When you visit the beautiful
convent of Villa Maria, the former residence of our governors, you
admire in the parlor a large picture splendidly drawn by a nun, a true
artist, representing Marguerite Bourgeois teaching an Indian girl
under the shadow of a large tree. To-day the tree planted by Mar-
guerite Bourgeois is not only firmly rooted in Canadian soil, pro-
ducing abundant fruits, whose perfume permeates every section of
society, but it has the most extensive ramifications on the whole
northern section of America. Her successors are not less than 800,
educating 20,000 pupils in 86 establishments, to be found in Canada,
Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, Illinois, etc. Next in
number, the Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus and Mary, whose
mother house is the magnificent convent of Hochelaga, have 34
branch establishments in Canada and the United States, their splendid
convent of Oakland at San Francisco being not the least remarkable,
and they teach between eight and nine thousand children. The Grey
Nuns of Ottawa count not less than 81 sisters of their order in
Buffalo, Lowell, Ogdensburg and Plattsburgh, and the number of
their pupils may fairly be put at five thousand.

A few years ago took place a very unusual and solemn demonstra-
tion, the first of the kind, in the little picturesque town of Nicolet
(*O Nicolet qu'embellit la nature!* is a favourite song of the students)
which claims to possess one of the most important and oldest colleges
of the country, in fact the first founded since French dominion ceased
to exist. It was a large and imposing gathering of its former pupils,
many of whom had reached the highest distinctions. There you could
find princes of the Church side by side with learned judges and pro-
minent politicians. They were animated by one deserving object,
that of honouring their old *Alma Mater*. Many were the speakers and
eloquent were their words. It seems as if they had united to choose
as a text the inspired words : *Quam bonum et jucundum est*
habitare fratres in unum. How good and joyful it is for brethren
to dwell in unity! Their Lordships the la : Bishops Bourget, of
Montreal; Baillargeon, of Quebec (both became Archbishops after-
wards); and Cook, of Three Rivers; Rev. Mr. Désaulniers, a pro-
minent professor of the Seminary of St. Hyacinthe; Rev. Mr. Laffèche,
now the eminent Bishop of Three Rivers; the Hon. Mr. Chauveau, the

late Judges Mondelet and Loranger—what shadows we are ! but two are now living—rivalled successively with their eloquence in paying the most beautiful homage to the merits and services of the institution. One of the last, but not the least eloquent speaker was another good man, lost since to the country, the silver-tongued Mr. Edward Carter, a leading politician and barrister, and a former pupil of Nicolet. He being a Protestant, educated by Catholic priests, under the special guidance of the late lamented Rev. Mr. Leprohon, his remarks were received with peculiar interest, mingled, no doubt, with keen curiosity. Let us admire, if we were not present to cheer with the whole assemblage :—

As an English pupil of Nicolet College, I am not ashamed to acknowledge it. Notwithstanding that my career is in part spent and although a period of thirty years has elapsed since I left this institution, I never regretted the days I spent within these walls, and the early association and friendship I had there formed. On the contrary, I have never ceased to boast of it ; and when I witness the magnificent spectacle now presented to my view, that pride is only surpassed by those emotions which so grand a re-union is certain to produce. Yes, I am happy and proud to be here, surrounded as I am by so many friends and classmates. I am aware that it is not unusual to hear a certain portion of the English community speak with levity of institutions of this kind, and affect to despise them. But, if they could only witness the magnificent spectacle here presented, and see the fruits which have ripened into maturity from the young plants nurtured and cared for by your religious pastors, how soon would they not acknowledge their error ! In fact, who are the men who compose this grand re-union ? I see before me your illustrious bishops ; on each side and all around me men whose career has covered them with glory, men who have become distinguished in the pulpit, distinguished in literary pursuits, distinguished at the Bar and on the Bench, distinguished as public orators and statesmen, and who, one and all, are assembled here to bear testimony, as former pupils of Nicolet, to their achievement and success. (Applause.) I consider it my duty publicly to declare, in the presence of this illustrious assembly, that during the whole course of my studies no attempt was ever made to interfere with my religious persuasion. In common with all the other pupils, I submitted to the rules of the college, but apart from this observance, inseparable from the exercise of proper discipline, I enjoyed the utmost freedom and was treated with every possible consideration. The recollection of this will last as long as I live. It is here that I have learnt to respect your clergy. Unfortunately, persons are to be found in this country who are far from entertaining for your clergy that respect which is due to them. These persons ignore the golden rule that our duty as fellow-citizens is to respect the religious persuasion of others, and forget that the morality of the people entirely depends upon the influence exercised by the clergy. (Applause.) The man who in his youth has received a religious education is less liable to omit the performance of the duties which his position in life may impose upon him, and thus it is that early religious instruction affords to society the best guarantee that can be given that that man will be an honest man

and a good citizen. It is precisely in such institutions as that of Nicolet, where science, literature and religious instruction are disseminated, that so much good is to be accomplished. (Applause.)

These remarks answer more than one of your objections, and will be considered a fitting rebuke to some of your correspondents who affect to despise our educational establishments. I could not conclude by a more eloquent and a more disinterested testimony to the worth of our clergy and to the great services which they have rendered to the members of the community, irrespective of creed, in the great cause of education. Coupling the utterances of Mr. Edward Carter with those of Lord Durham, one the prologue and the other the epilogue of this lengthy letter, the fair-minded public will easily ascertain how unjust are your aspersions and how indefensible is the position taken by you. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.* At my earliest opportunity I shall continue to unmask the dreadful and restless bug-bear which, having haunted your columns for two long years, might become a disturbing element but for the good sense of the community.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

Montreal, October 20, 1887.

[We have been compelled to omit several statistical tables from Mr. Tassé's letter for mechanical reasons. But in each case the totals are given, so that the strength of his argument is not in the least impaired.—ED. MAIL.]

WHY I BECAME SILENT.

The "Mail" refuses to discuss any longer.—Its promises by telegraph unfulfilled.—Still both sides of the case must be exposed.—Appeal to the "Empire."

To the Editor of THE EMPIRE.

SIR,

The *Mail* having for the last two years slandered the French Canadian race, I thought it my duty to discuss its statements in its own columns. My first letter was devoted to a fictitious correspondent, "A Protestant Minister" supposed to inhabit the good old city of Quebec. Instead of leaving the reply to that correspondent, the *Mail* favored me with a two column leader. The "Protestant Minister" having remained silent since, one must suppose that he was absorbed by the editor.

The *Mail* published subsequently two letters from me which were accompanied with two leading editorials. The tone of the articles was most considerate if the facts were misleading. However, the editor complained that my replies were not to the point. Still I was quite willing that the public should be the judge of that contention. When my fourth letter reached the editor, he came evidently to the conclusion to leave it in the pigeon-hole. This would be a saving of space and of mental labor. I telegraphed to ascertain whether the letter would appear or not. In answer I received the following telegram :

Toronto, 9th November 1887.

Letter will probably appear on Saturday, but we are very crowded just now.

THE MAIL.

The letter did not appear on that Saturday, the *Mail* being very crowded. It has remained in that embarrassing condition since. I then requested the editor to kindly surrender my manuscript, as I

intended to publish it elsewhere. But this was not an easy capture. It required strong will, coupled with the burning love of a father for his child. Judge by the reply :

Toronto, 21st November, 1887.

Leave it until Saturday next. Will endeavor to print it then.

THE MAIL.

I waited patiently, but the light was kept under the bushel. The letter remained unpublished notwithstanding the very great effort made. Such an effort is unprecedented. I wired again for my manuscript. I was advised that it would be forwarded at once. The unfortunate captive was delivered, however, only on Saturday morning, third day of December. This was a glorious day, the imprisonment in the *Mail* dungeon having lasted more than one month.

I give these details in answer to the many friends who, thinking that I had been crushed by the *Mail*, enquired what had become of its disputant, and to show at the same time that I have been treated most unfairly. The *Mail* is the master of its space. It is also the judge of its waste-basket. But were it unwilling to insert my prose, which it kindly styled "capital rethoric," it should not have deceived me during several weeks, without the slightest acknowledgment or explanation. Most flimsy is the pretext of lack of space, uttered at the eleventh hour, when the *Mail* has made of that question the question of the day, and when it can dispose of sixteen or twenty pages every Saturday.

I put these facts before the public in order that they may know also, that, if deficient in ability, I have lacked neither diligence nor determination in the defence which I had undertaken, of a much maligned race. I had learned to appreciate and admire British fair play, but I confess that this valuable article was soon exhausted by the *Mail*. Having taken up the cudgels I do not intend, however, to be silenced in that summary way. It is not in the power of the *Mail* to muzzle French Canada. The same task undertaken heretofore by other powerful organs has miserably failed. The two sides of the case must be exposed. The public must know, if my fellow-countrymen, numbering almost a third of the population, are an intolerant, bigoted, ignorant race and a danger to the community. I trust I shall find a newspaper in Ontario willing to give me the fair play refused by the *Mail*, and I hereby confidently appeal to THE EMPIRE.—*Titre oblige.*

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

Montreal, december 27, 1887.

FIFTH LETTER.

Catholic tolerance at the very beginning of the century.—Intolerance of the American Congress.—Its address to England against Catholic faith and French laws (1774).—An address of the same kind to the American colonies.—The other side of the shield.—Address of the Congress to French Canadians urging them to join the insurgents.—Appeals to them from Washington and Baron d'Estaing.—French Canadians scorn their duplicity and remain true to British Crown.—Governor Haldimand says the Eastern Townships ought to be settled with French Canadians.—According to Wm. Parker they are the right arm of the Empire.—The Canadian clergy is the finest moral police of the world, says Sir John Macdonald.—The last gun for England.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

In your article on the 8th October you allege that "I have not come to close quarters with any of those questions," meaning your whole indictment against the French Canadian people. That statement is reiterated in your reply of last Saturday. As you are too interested to be impartial, I shall not discuss that point, leaving it to be decided by the impartial public, the public that will read both sides, the public that will weigh your arguments and mine and decide accordingly. I only pray them to wait patiently for their verdict till all the pleas, all the facts are before them.

In your article of the 1st October, which I have by no means exhausted, I read the following :—"At the outset we find the people "in the American colonies complaining of the power granted to the "Roman Catholic Church. To this it may be replied that the clergy "and people of New England lived in an intolerant age and were

"themselves intolerant." You are quite right. You will find tolerance in Catholic Maryland and intolerance, even of the most cruel kind, in New England and elsewhere. As early as 1649, the Assembly of Maryland passed an act by which Christians of all sects were secured in the public profession of their faith, and allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. In the colony of Plymouth men and women were hanged for being Quakers, while others were imprisoned and pilloried on suspicion of Anabaptism, Prelacy or Romanism. With all the vaunted liberty of our neighbors, as late as a few years ago, a Catholic could not become a functionary of New Hampshire. Even the American Congress which claims to have kindled the light of liberty on the Atlantic coasts was impregnated with the most absolute, the most intolerant notions. When England passed the Quebec Act (1774) which re-established the French language, the French laws, and gave fuller liberty to the Catholic Church in Lower Canada, that very Congress was the first to remonstrate and to denounce that measure of justice in the most violent terms. Let us see the following extract of the "Address to the people of Great Britain from the delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, to consider of the grievances in general Congress at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774."

* * Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us :

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us ; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury ; to seize our persons and carry us for trial to Great Britain ; to blockade our ports ; to destroy our charters and change our forms of government would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in all the colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures, an Act was passed to protect, indemnify and screen from punishment such as might be guilty, even of murder, in endeavoring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution, and, by another Act, the Dominion of Canada is to be extended, modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to an Administration so friendly to their religion they might become formidable to us, and, on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the Act : And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America. Superadded of these considerations, we cannot help deploring

the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the Royal Proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country. They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus act, that great bulwark of English liberty :—**Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in this country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.**

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit that the ministry, by the powers of Britain and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove notorious, in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

May not a ministry with the same armies inslave you; it may be said, you will cease to pay them, but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your enemies, nor will you have any reason to expect that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Not satisfied with this denunciation the American Congress issued an address to the inhabitants of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, etc., etc., in which they said :—

“ In the session of Parliament last mentioned an Act was passed for
“ changing the Government of Quebec, by which Act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty
“ of peace, is established; and the people there deprived of the right
“ to an assembly, trials by jury and the English law in civil cases abolished, and instead thereof the French laws established, in direct violation of His Majesty’s promise by his royal proclamation, under the
“ faith of which many English subjects settled in that province and the
“ limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast
“ regions that lie adjoining the northernly and westernly boundaries
“ of these colonies.”

Could it be believed that the very Congress which had denounced the Quebec Act in such unmeasured terms, which had endeavoured to pollute Catholic faith, which had represented our religion as having
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education, murder and rebellion through every part of the world," which had criticized severely the re establishment of French laws, issued a proclamation to the Canadians—the French alone were then thus designated—urging them in the sacred name of liberty, to unite their destinies to them? The Congress even pointed out the example of Switzerland, which you have failed to accept when cited by me, to show how Catholics and Protestants could live harmoniously under a common flag in the practice of true liberal institutions, and resist tyranny against all comers. That famous document is addressed : " To the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec. Friends and fellow-subjects." The many italics are to be found in the paper as originally published.

What is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament (1774)? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it you ; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected firmly stipulate for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men it was secured before. Are the French laws in civil cases restored? It seems so. But observe the cautious kindness of the ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are—that those " laws shall be the rule until they shall be *varied or altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of England secure to you and your descendants? No. They are subjected to arbitrary *alterations* by the Governor and Council, and a power is expressly reserved of appointing "such courts of *criminal, civil and ecclesiastical* jurisdiction as shall be thought proper." Such is the precious tenure of mere will, by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Ministers are empowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to establish even the *inquisition* itself among you. Have you an assembly, composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you? No! The power of making laws for you is lodged in the Governor and Council, all of them dependent upon and movable at the *pleasure* of a Minister. * * *

Your judges and your *Legislative Council*, as it is called, are *dependent* on your Governor and *he is dependent* on the servant of the Crown in Great Britain. The *legislative, executive and judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a minister. Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered to you, that every sentence beginning with a benevolent pretension, concludes with a destructive power ; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is that the Crown and its Minister shall be as absolute throughout your extended Province as the despots of Asia or Africa.***

Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared with those who, with open arms invite you into a fellowship.

A moment's reflexion should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony, from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your Province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union.*

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such lowminded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

* In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts and elect deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial congress, may choose delegates to represent your province in the continental congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775.

In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of the last month, and continued on this day, it has been with universal pleasure, and an unanimous vote, resolved, that we should consider the violation of your rights by the act for altering the government of your Province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our Confederation which has no other object than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connexion with Great Britain on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty praying relief of our and your grievances, and have associated to stop all importations from Great Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those Kingdoms and the West Indies, after the tenth day of next September, until the said grievances are redressed.

That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of North America, and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow subjects.

By order of the Congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON,

President.

October 26, 1774.

Could it be believed also that George Washington, who was a leading spirit of the Congress, as one of the representatives of Virginia, issued a proclamation when he took command of the American forces pressing my ancestors to join the invading army of Colonel Arnold. Some of his words : " Come, my brethren, unite with us in an indis

“soluble union ; let us run together to the same goal.”* The cause of America and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen, whatever may be his religion or descent. The united colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion may create. Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty, against which all the force of artifice and tyranny will never be able to prevail.” Much more tempting was another proclamation—that of Baron d’Estaing, commander of the French fleet, which had come to the rescue of the American revolutionary party :

I shall not ask the military companions of the Marquis of Levis, those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations among which they would be better pleased to place their own. Can the Canadians who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence—can they become the enemies of his nephews ? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen ? At the bare mention of their names the weapons would fall out of their hands. I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars, that their evangelical efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by wordly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe that it is necessary for religion that those who preach it should form a body in the State ; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part in the government, since their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people. I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general that a vast monarchy, having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends and brethren, must be an inexhaustable source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured by their union with powerful neighbors than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom everything is different, and who, jealous and despotic sovereigns would, sooner or later, treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late countrymen, the Americans, who made them victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people that to join with the United States is to secure their own happiness, since a whole people when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest. But I will declare, and I now formally declare in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support.

Could it be believed also that Dr. Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore, Charles Carroll, Mr. Chase and Benjamin Franklin, were delegated to Canada, in April 1775, to conciliate the clergy and the people ? But the bloody revolution of the previous year could not be

forgotten, the French leaders had no faith in their professions of friendship—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes!*—and they remained as firm as rock in their allegiance to the British Crown. I have given some development to this part of my argument in order that the public should fully realise the temptations to which our people were exposed, which they had to resist, and at the same time the infernal duplicity of the American Congress. That Congress may have been composed of great men, may have initiated a step which produced a revolution and created the greatest Republic known, but their double dealing towards Canada is a blot on their escutcheon which shall remain as long as honor is upheld among nations. *Fides Punica* is thrown in the shade. Let me give to my ancestors the full credit which they deserve, and which is now so manifest in the light of experience. They did not only minister a severe rebuke to those who had practised treachery towards them—they proved that they were wiser from a national standpoint than such eminent Frenchmen as D'Estaing, Lafayette and Rochambeau. Annexed to the United States they would have been denationalized probably by the giant who crushed Louisiana. Annexed to the States they would have added a mere satellite to the American constellation; whilst unveiling the future they could foresee the establishment of a distinct nationality and a future as bright as the North Star. *Opus magnum!*

From a British standpoint you are most ungrateful in endeavouring to belittle the services rendered by the Catholic clergy to the British Crown. You state:—"No one has ever disputed their value, though history relates that in almost every instance she exacted a *quid pro quo* in the shape of an extension or a mere formal recognition of her prerogatives." The Act of 1774 was not granted to reward the services of the clergy. It was inspired by self-protection, and not by a sense of justice. Discontent was then brewing in the American colonies, and lest it should extend to French Canadians, the British Parliament granted us liberties and immunities which otherwise it would have refused or indefinitely postponed. When England was threatened with a second war against the United States, Governor Prevost endeavoured to conciliate the clergy and their flocks, much alienated by the action of his predecessors, in giving to Mgr. Plessis a standing which the Catholic Bishop had not before. In 1813, Lord Bathurst was petitioned against that concession, but he promptly replied that the time was ill chosen to raise such a dispute while French-Canadians were fighting for England.

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sideration a plan for settling with Royalists "the tract of land to the
"Eastward of the River St. Lawrence and bounded on the North
"and West by the revolted colonies" or what is known to day as
the Eastern Townships. By Royalists were meant many of the people
of Vermont "who call themselves our friends" and several Loyalists
who had made repeated solicitations for grants of land on that
frontier. Governor Haldimand took the view that the territory
should remain unconceded, at least, for some years, when a better
judgment could be made than at present of the turn which affairs may
take on the continent. (*) He gave another consideration for which
you are probably unprepared :

There is another consideration ; the Canadians will increase much in population,
and in a few years, more lands will be wanted for them, and it seems good policy
that the frontiers should be settled by people professing different religions, speaking
a different language, and accustomed to other laws and government from those of
our restless and enterprising neighbours of New-England. Loyalists and Americans
settled near one another could not agree, at least, for some years, and the smallest
trifle might be productive of outrages, from which great mutual mischief would
ensue in spite of all efforts on the part of the respective governments to prevent it ;
hence, my Lord, appears the great advantage which the land between the River St.
Lawrence and the Ottawa River towards Cataraqui possesses for making useful and
happy settlements for the Loyalists, and of which I have given in former letters an
ample description.

The same view was still expressed in much stronger terms before a
committee of the British Parliament, held in 1828, by a prominent
English merchant, who was fully conversant with Canadian affairs,
having lived several years in this country. Mr. William Parker said :

I would encourage the French Canadians, they are the only people you can depend
on. The population of the other Provinces is of a mixed character (a great many
loyal, brave and good men, no doubt, amongst them). The French Canadians are
united in their origin of which they are justly proud, in religion, in manners, and in
virtue. They have a character to support and they have always nobly supported it.
Whilst they were under the French Government they were the bravest subjects that
France had, and with the one-sixth of their present number they gave the greatest
opposition to the British that they met with at the conquest of Canada. I am
persuaded if the French Canadians had been as numerous at that time as they are
now, we would not have wrested Canada from France, and if such had been the
result, we would not have the youthful, powerful and federative American Repu-
blic encroaching on us as they do at present. The French Canadians are reproa-
ched for not Anglifying themselves ; are the inhabitants of Jersey and Guern-

(*) Letter to the Right Honorable Lord North, one of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State, 27th November 1783, relative to settling Loyalists near the line 45.

sey worse British subjects for having preserved their language, manners and Norman laws, or are they so reproached? And yet, I will boldly assert that Lower Canada and other North American Colonies, are of ten thousand times more vital importance to this Empire than these Islands are. I consider them more than the right arm of the British Empire. I am convinced that if the French Canadians were double their present number they would set all the union of America at defiance. They are the best subjects this country has.

Let me complete these quotations by the following testimony of Sir John Macdonald as expressed at London, England, before the St. James's Club, at a dinner, January 4, 1886 :

He had been asked while in this country many questions with respect to the future of the Dominion. One of the questions was whether there was any doubt about the loyalty of the French-Canadians to the English Sovereign. He had the greatest pleasure in saying that if there was a loyal body of men within the bounds of the British Empire, it would be found amongst the French-Canadians of the Dominion. (Cheers.) He would not enter into the causes of the sympathy which they felt with Riel, who was recently executed, it was a natural sympathy, but in no way affected the loyalty of Canadians to the British Crown. It must be remembered that they became British subjects before the French Revolution, and the engagement to preserve their religion, their rights, their privileges, their institutions and their property had been religiously carried out, they had no sympathy with the modern infidelity, the rabid democracy, and the disbelief of all authority which now exists in France. They were a moral and virtuous people, listening to their hierarchy and their priesthood, and as a Protestant he had no hesitation in saying that the best and finest moral police in the world was to be found in the priesthood of French Canada.

What we have done in former years we are prepared to do now. Sir Etienne Pascal Taché has said that the last gun for British supremacy on this continent shall be fired by a French Canadian. The prediction will be realized yet.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

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SIXTH LETTER.

The tithe system does not crowd out Protestants.—Opinion of Sir John Macdonald.—Protestants emigrate Westward from all the Provinces.—Advance of the French in Ontario.—“The Globe” imputes them the Liberal defeat of 1882.—A Roland for an Oliver.—French development from 1841 to 1881.—No tithes in the Eastern States, still the old element disappears.—The clergy and agriculture.—What they are doing for its advancement.—Revd. Mr. Pilote one of the earliest promoters of protection.—Ontario is not the milch-cow of Quebec.—Why the administration of Quebec is more expensive.—The twelve privileged constituencies.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

My argument has not convinced you of the justice of the tithe system. You may not be open to conviction. Let us dissect your reply. You state: “The system furnishes the clergy with a motive for getting rid of Protestant settlers, since every Protestant farm which falls into the hands of a habitant becomes a source of clerical revenue.” The same view is upheld by Mr. Robert Sellar, editor of the *Gleaner*, in the concluding part of his recent *History of Huntingdon, Chateaugay and Beauharnois*: “In 1838, the English speaking population of Quebec was full of vitality, expansive and self-assertive: in 1888 it is the reverse, what has caused the change? I submit that it is to be found in the extension to the townships of French law and customs.....The first aggressive step was the act that extended the parish-system to the townships, whereby the priest resident in them enjoyed the same powers as those in the seigniories, and could, by force of law, collect tithes and taxes to build and maintain churches and presbyteries. A systematic system was inaugurated and is carried out with growing vigor to push out the English-speaking farmers and substitute habitants.” I have established already that the tithes are paid only by Ca-

tholic farmers and that not a farthing is exacted from Protestants. This point is clear, undisputed, unassailable. If the clergy of Lower Canada were not supported by tithes, they would have to be supported by fixed or voluntary contributions. Would the farmers have to pay less? I question it. They would have to pay in hard cash whilst they pay only according to the yield of the crops, whatever may be the price of grain, high or low. Then you are wrong in asserting that the large sums taken from them owing to that peculiar system, reduce their capacity as rate-payers. Here rises another point. Are Catholic farmers paying more than Protestants for the support of the clergy? According to population you have more churches because the Protestant creed is much sub-divided, being composed—such is the list published in the last census—of members of the Church of England, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Adventists, Congregationalists Unitarians, Episcopal Reform, Universalists, etc., etc. Those denominations require the building of special churches, the maintenance of special clergymen, and the congregation being sometimes small the expense bears more heavily on the members. In Montreal alone there were last year 25 Catholic churches and 54 Protestant on the list of exemptions from taxes, although the Catholic population is much larger. Protestant ministers marry. Catholic priests cannot marry. Then the former having wife and children require naturally larger salaries. If the incomes of some curés are larger than required for their maintenance, they generally make the best use of them. Many are devoted to our educational or benevolent institutions, the poor of the parish always coming in for a large share. Of their devotedness to our best interests, to our intellectual advancement, you may judge by the fact that our sixteen classical colleges with their several thousands of pupils have been founded by them. Open the will of almost any curé and you will find that his last thought was to confound into a common sentiment the interests of the Church and the State. Truly, some of our institutions possess large estates derived mainly from the earliest days of the colony. But the proceeds are devoted to educational or benevolent purposes. The richest, the Seminary of St. Sulpice, attends to the religious wants of several parishes, keeps up a theological seminary and a classical college, attended by hundreds of students from all parts of Canada and the Republic, supplies preliminary and gratuitous education to thousands of pupils belonging to the poorest classes. The Seminary of Quebec has founded and maintained for many years that great institution, Laval University, which is unrivalled on the continent.

If I were to believe you and your ally, Mr. Sellar, the tithe system "furnishes the clergy with a motive for getting rid of "Protestant settlers." I have already convinced any fair minded reader that the system has nothing whatever to do with the Protestant exodus from the Province of Quebec. The French-Canadian emigration to United States has been much larger than that of English Protestants. Many claim that there are 500,000 of my compatriots, and even more, disseminated on the vast surface of the Republic. In fact you will find them in the remotest corners of the Union, from Maine to California, from Montana to Florida. "Where has not the Canadian penetrated?" exclaimed the celebrated Father de Smedt, after meeting Canadian huntsmen in the fastnesses of Oregon. But you are confounded by your own pretensions. In previous articles you have strongly adverted on what you style the French invasion of Ontario. Well, there are no tithes to collect in your great province. They are not authorized beyond Quebec. The French laws and customs so much dreaded by Mr. Sellar do not extend to other provinces. Protestant farmers cannot be forced there to quit their lands owing to their pressure. They cannot be chased by the same fact that "the Church of Quebec possesses all the apparatus for rendering "heresy uncomfortable." Then how is it that so many old country settlements are fading away before the French waves? How is it that Highlanders of Glengarry and Stormont are leaving for other fields? How is it that in all the counties eastward of Kingston so many of the Anglo-Saxon element are selling their homesteads to the overflowing population of Quebec? As it does not exist, the tithe system cannot crowd them out. The true reason is that the same causes operate in Quebec as well as in Ontario.

For many years you have acknowledged as your chieftain a great statesman, than whom no other has done so much to mould our destinies, to blend harmoniously the conflicting elements which constitute the Dominion. Still with all his wisdom, that statesman could not see that Protestantism was jeopardized by the maintenance of the tithe system. Not only does he uphold the views which I have developed, but he has publicly disavowed your own course. In a speech delivered at London (Ont.) on the 16th september 1886, Sir John Macdonald used the following language, which will commend itself to every fair-minded Protestant :

The *Mail* has either in correspondence or by article, attacked the Ecclesiastical question of Lower Canada, but whether by correspondence or article, I am not bound by it nor is the Government bound by it. The French Canadians of Quebec

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have their own religion and their own Legislature. Why should we interfere in any way with them. A man, if he be a Catholic, gives a certain proportion of his crops to the priest of his parish. A certain portion of his grain only, mind you. If he raises roots or hay or cattle he pays no tithes, and if he chooses to turn Protestant, he needs not pay tithes any more (laughter). The people of the agricultural districts have more crops than cash, and it is convenient for them to pay their tithes in the produce of their crops rather than subscribe and pay in cash. That is their system, and they like it, and it is a system of which Protestants cannot complain, as they have nothing to do with it. And if these people do not complain of it, why should we, in another Province, with different institutions, try to force our opinions upon a point of that kind. I disapprove it altogether, altogether. I think it is desirable that I should say this (Cheers).

As to the extent of the French invasion in your province, you may form a very adequate idea—although it has been much larger proportionately since the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway—by the following statement which indicates the French movement in Ontario from 1851 to 1881.

FRENCH POPULATION OF ONTARIO FROM 1851 TO 1881.

DISTRICTS.	1850-51	1860-61	1870-71	1880-81	Total Population. 1880-81.
Addington	281	....	920	968	23,470
Algoma.....	....	328	995	1,562	20,320
Bothwell .....	....	....	464	706	27,102
Brant.....	44	2	218	413	33,869
Brockville.....	....	....	570	657	12,514
Bruce.....	60	239	880	669	64,774
Bytown (Ottawa).....	2,056	3,644	7,214	9,384	27,412
Cardwell .....	....	....	11	24	16,770
Carleton.....	898	975	797	1,668	23,689
Cornwall.....	....	....	967	2,222	9,904
Dundas.....	231	391	1,031	1,245	20,598
Durham.....	76	13	163	211	36,265
Elgin.....	92	38	507	579	42,361
Essex.....	5,424	3,706	10,539	14,658	46,962
Frontenac.....	551	595	997	712	14,993
Glengarry.....	1,627	1,371	2,607	4,188	22,221
Grenville.....	311	230	625	635	13,526
Grey.....	30	68	426	411	74,129
Haldimand.....	159	31	478	331	18,610
Halton.....	818	55	270	222	21,919
Hamilton.....	17	79	240	500	35,961
Hastings.....	789	550	2,785	3,381	55,192
Huron.....	412	479	813	821	76,970
Kent.....	1,268	1,603	3,480	4,529	36,626
Kingston.....	210	100	363	480	14,091
Lambton.....	369	13	837	826	42,616

Lanark.....	378	389	865	835	33,975
Leeds.....	478	298	693	922	22,206
Leeds and Grenville.....	....	....	291	337	12,029
Lennox.....	62	119	296	296	16,314
Lincoln.....	337	6	440	504	22,963
London.....	....	77	34	223	19,746
Manitoulin.....	....	....	40	....	.....
Middlesex.....	3	77	425	439	73,335
Monk.....	....	....	193	261	17,145
Muskoka.....	....	....	57	933	27,204
Niagara.....	....	....	21	52	3,445
Nipissing.....	....	963	358	....	.....
Norfolk.....	144	297	687	516	33,593
Northumberland.....	856	179	901	776	39,283
Ontario.....	189	177	631	606	48,812
Ottawa (v. Bytown).....	....	....	....	....	.....
Oxford.....	84	40	446	389	50,093
Parry Sound.....	....	....	129	....	.....
Peel.....	114	16	41	25	16,387
Perth.....	49	296	502	540	54,985
Peterborough.....	490	300	1,024	1,230	37,266
Prescott.....	3,438	6,558	9,623	14,601	22,857
Prince Edward.....	185	91	697	839	21,044
Renfrew.....	804	1,139	2,882	5,240	40,125
Russell.....	688	2,889	5,600	9,622	25,082
Simcoe.....	569	946	3,024	3,886	76,129
Stormont.....	758	970	1,266	1,967	13,294
Toronto.....	467	435	572	1,230	86,115
Victoria.....	18	465	660	818	34,612
Waterloo.....	139	1,439	1,536	1,294	42,740
Welland.....	242	68	550	610	26,152
Wellington.....	....	152	328	372	73,535
Wentworth.....	134	99	409	438	30,991
York.....	62	291	911	910	66,698
	26,417	33,287	.....	.....	.....
From France.....	1,007	2,389	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	27,424	35,676	75,383	102,743	1,923,228

When the Liberal party were routed at the general elections of 1882, the *Globe* had to explain to the faithful their overwhelming defeat. After having surveyed the battle-field, he came to the conclusion that the main cause of the disaster in Ontario was the advance of the French brigade in the Eastern constituencies which, according to many Reformers, to use the words of Mr. Blake, was "a place of black darkness." The *Globe* was quite right. The leaders of the

Reform party, their organs in the press had been for years maligning my race, assailing Sir John A. Macdonald for having "sundered" to her the birthright of Ontario, and my fellow-contrymen would have been lost to all sense of self-respect had they not resented such a systematic outrage. These are the figures quoted by the *Globe*:

NO. OF PEOPLE OF FRENCH ORIGIN.

NAME OF COUNTY.	1871.	1881.
Glengarry.....	2,607	4,188
Cornwall.....	967	4,222
Stormont.....	1,266	1,967
Dundas.....	1,031	1,245
Prescott.....	9,623	14,601
Russell.....	5,600	9,622
Carleton.....	797	1,668
South Renfrew.....	1,265	2,006
North Renfrew.....	1,616	3,234
South Leeds.....	693	922
Total.....	25,465	41,675

That is to say, an increase in ten years and in ten counties of over 16,000 inhabitants of French origin. That is to say, six years ago, we were in Ontario almost the double of the whole French element in 1763, a number which has produced more than one million and a half in a single century. As in duty bound, the *Globe* commented on these appalling figures. The great Liberal organ, complimentary as usual to my race, seized the opportunity to assert that "the average Quebec Frenchman is not a good farmer, his advent being as a rule the prelude to a deterioration in the quality and value of the farm upon which he enters." But how did the *Globe* explain the exodus of the Old Country settlers? Not by the system of tithes. Not by the existence of French laws. They are unknown in those counties. He ascribed the very same cause by which I have already explained the English exodus from Quebec: "On the whole, the indications seem to be that the section of the Province in question will be more and more given up to the people of French origin as the scions of the more enterprising races keep moving to larger and newer fields. They take Horace Greeley's advice and go Westward." (The *Globe*, September 5, 1882.) There are also no tithes in the Eastern States. Still the descendants of the Puritans are fast disappearing—still the growth of that section of the Republic has been less proportionately than that of Ontario and Quebec during the period intervening between 1871 and 1881. Their

exodus Westward must have been large because they have received during the same period a considerable influx from Lower Canada and from the Maritime Provinces, not to speak of European immigration. I will draw your attention to an elaborate essay prepared by Mr. John Lowe, the well-informed secretary to the Department of Agriculture, and which has been inserted in the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal meeting, 1884. It treats of "Population, Immigration and Pauperism in Lower Canada." The following comparison which he has drawn is worth studying:

STATES AND PROVINCES.	Population, 1870.	Population, 1880.	Increase,	Rate per cent.
Maine.....	629,915	648,936	22,021	4.
New Hampshire.....	318,300	346,991	28,691	9.
Massachusetts.....	1,457,351	1,783,085	325,734	22.
Rhode Island.....	217,353	276,531	59,178	27.
Connecticut.....	537,454	622,700	85,246	16.
Vermont.....	330,551	332,286	1,735	0.5
Ohio.....	2,665,260	3,198,062	532,802	20.
Illinois.....	2,539,891	3,077,871	537,980	21.
Michigan.....	1,184,059	1,636,937	452,878	38.
	1871.	1881.		
Quebec.....	1,196,516	1,359,027	167,511	14.
Ontario.....	1,620,851	1,923,228	302,377	19.
Nova Scotia.....	387,800	440,572	52,772	13.
New Brunswick.....	285,594	321,233	35,639	12.
	1870.			
Manitoba.....	12,228	65,954	53,726	407.
British Columbia.....	10,586	49,459	38,873	367.

Let us examine another part of your argument: "We might add that the tithe system is of itself injurious to the material welfare of a community, agriculture being discouraged when those who spend no labor in the production are allowed to participate in the produce." This statement is as unjust as untrue. Our clergymen cannot fail to be much interested in the production of the soil since they live by it. Far from being retrograde, our priests count among the most advanced agriculturists of Lower Canada. Much of our agricultural education, much of our agricultural literature, much of the most progressive methods are due to them. In 1860, a special committee was appointed by the Legislative Assembly, under the chairmanship of the eminent Dr. Taché, then member for the County of Rimouski and now deputy minister of agriculture, to "inquire into the state of agriculture in Lower Canada, the means of improving it and of facilitating the set-

" tlement of the waste lands." If you look over the evidence you will find that five of the most elaborate replies to the queries of the committee were prepared by the Rev. Mr. Delage, curate of L'Islet, Rev. Mr. Désaulniers, of the Seminary of St. Hyacinthe, Rev. Mr. Ferland, of the Seminary of Nicolet, renowned since by his history of Canada ; Rev. Mr. Hébert, of Grande Baie ; Rev. Mr. Pilote, of the College of St. Anne la Pocatière. Their observations were most appropriate, and many of the suggestions which they offered have been accomplished since. The *Mail* having been in the good old days an ardent apostle of the National Policy, will be interested to know that even at that early period the Rev. Mr. Pilote indicated protection as a powerful factor towards assisting agriculture as well as industry :

A second means of improving the state of our agriculture would be to favor our agricultural and manufacturing productions by according to our produce a sufficient protection against the importation of produce of the same nature from foreign countries. It is a fact that in many instances the importation of a foreign article has had the effect of ruining the same article produced by us. Is it surprising, then, that we are without manufactures of any value ? In the absence of foreign markets, manufactures in this country would be an outlet, constantly open, to our agricultural produce. Now these manufactures would not fail to spring up on all sides if a sufficient protection were afforded to the objects produced by them. Unfortunately, all questions of tariff appear to be managed for the interests of foreign trade. We have been, and still are, the victims of too great condescension—the vital interests of the country, its agricultural and manufacturing produce—has been bartered for advantages, which were often imaginary, but always of an inferior order. A good system of agricultural reform requires, therefore, as a necessary condition that manufactures should be encouraged now, that encouragement can only proceed from a good protective system.

It is quite evident that the National Policy was not a new thing when it was formulated by the Conservative leaders in Parliament and adopted by them after their victory of 1878. It had been recommended twenty-eight years before, although not its first exponent, by a modest and learned priest. *Suum cuique*. Another suggestion towards mending agriculture was the establishment of agricultural schools : two of them with model farms have been since organized under the control of the devoted priests who superintend the colleges of L'Assomption and St. Anne la Pocatière. I have just before me the fifth annual report of the *Société d'Industrie Laitière de la Province de Québec* (incorporated, 1882) which, you will admit, has a most useful object, that of improving and enlarging the dairy products. The vice-president is a priest, a former European correspondent of *LA MINERVE*, Rev. Mr. Gerin, curé of St. Ursule, and a brother of the late A.

Gérin-Lajoie, author of *Jean Rivard*, and Hon. E. Gérin, Legislative Councillor, both having been the editors of the same paper. One of the directors of the association is another priest, Rev. Mr. Montminy, of St. Agapit Beaurivage, and if you look over the list of the members you will find the names, besides those already mentioned, of Rev. Mr. Chartier, St. Hyacinthe ; Rev. Mr. Labonté, St. Thérèse ; Rev. Mr. Prince, deacon, St. Hyacinthe ; Rev. Mr. Pothier, Warwick ; Rev. Mr. Tremblay, St. Anne la Pocatière. At the last annual meeting two of the lecturers were Rev. Mr. Chartier and Rev. Father Herbreteau, a Jesuit. In 1878, a distinguished litterateur, Mr. L. J. Fiset, of Quebec, offered a premium of \$100 for the best essay on agriculture. The second prize (\$25) was granted to Rev. Mr. Provencher, a Fellow of our Royal Society, a real scientist, who has published for seventeen years a monthly review devoted to natural science, *Le Naturaliste Canadien*. He is the author of a very considerable work : *Flore Canadienne*, or a description of all the plants of the forest, field, gardens and waters of Canada, 2 vols. in 8vo of 842 pages, comprising 400 engravings. Our missionaries have been the most intrepid champions of colonization. Go everywhere, from the coasts of Labrador to the banks of the Saskatchewan, and you will find traces of their hard labor, of their indomitable perseverance. Many a priest has carved one or several parishes out of the forest. A few weeks ago I visited the vast and most promising district of Temiscaming, and there I could ascertain that they were still the advanced guard of the pioneers. There was hardly a handful of settlers when the Oblate Fathers commenced to cultivate at Baie des Peres on the shores of the Lake, a certain extent of land which now covers more than 120 acres, tilled according to the best methods. Several years before they had opened the settlement of Notre-Dame du Désert, in the Upper Gatineau, at one hundred miles from the Ottawa River. On the shores of Lake Nominigou rises also an agricultural establishment operated by the Jesuit Fathers, and a splendid model farm can be found at Oka, under the management of the Trappists. And how many others could be enumerated ? In his immortal work, *Génie du Christianisme*, Chateaubriand fully demonstrates that obscure monks have been the fathers of agriculture in France as ploughmen themselves and as the first tutors of the ploughmen. The same credit is fully deserved by those who have transplanted the virtues of their order in our extended wilderness.

Let us proceed with your argument. " Hence in Quebec we find " the Provincial Government left to contribute to functi :

" Ontario are discharged by the municipalities ; and as a result the province is from time to time forced to sue at Ottawa for better terms, " which fall in a great part upon the Ontario taxpayer." I admit that the municipal system of Ontario is the most extended and entails the heaviest taxation. I admit that there are in Ontario functions, such as the maintenance of justice, which discharged by your municipalities, fall here on the government. I admit also that direct taxation, if acceptable to Ontario, is most unpopular, even when served in small doses, with our own people, who prefer to pay the taxes they do not see. But as far as our increased expenditure goes, you ought not to forget that it is due in a large measure to our liberality towards the minority, our province recognizing two official languages, employing a double staff for that purpose, and maintaining the Legislative Council, whose special object is the protection of the minority. A calculation drawn from official sources shows that the cost of maintenance of the Legislative Council from 1867 to 1882 was \$680,000, another sum of \$700,000 being spent for parliamentary translations, printing in both language, double subsidies to education and charity (the last from 1867 to 1883), a total of \$1,350,000, or about \$2,000,000 at the present date. As to " better terms," I do not know of any which granted to Quebec were not secured to Ontario. It is true that, in the session of 1884, nearly \$2,500,000 were appropriated towards indemnifying the Province of Quebec for the building of the North Shore line as being a most important link of our trans continental highway. But Ontario had obtained ten years before a subsidy based on the same principle, \$12,000 per mile, for the construction of the Canada Central railway, and Parliament only applied to Quebec what had been done previously to the sister province. Besides, according to the statement made then by Sir Charles Tupper, over \$20,000,000 have been disbursed within the enlarged limits of Ontario for Pacific railway purposes. You are aware that in 1867 Parliament assumed \$62,000,000 of the debt of Ontario and Quebec. In 1873, it decided to relieve them of the whole debt, the other provinces receiving a sum equivalent in proportion to population, and three years ago, it gave the old provinces the benefit of the interest on the increased debt from 1867 to 1873. The amount was to be capitalized ; it reached \$7,142,298.89, a half-yearly interest of five per cent being paid to the provinces ;—such was the amount to be paid hereafter per annum, to the following provinces :—Ontario, \$142,400 ; Quebec, \$130,000 ; Nova Scotia, \$39,668.44 ; New Brunswick, \$30,225.91 ;

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Prince Edward Island, \$10,148.68. I fail to see that Ontario was robbed to the benefit of Quebec. As you are always representing your province as the milch-cow of Quebec, I will draw your attention to a speech delivered by the late Sir George E. Cartier in the Legislative Assembly at the very beginning of Confederation. You will have to come to the conclusion that the roles were quite reserved at one time at any rate :—

The progress of Ontario is much talked of. We ought to be glad of it. But we must observe that if Lower Canada is not more advanced it is because in the past we have followed a policy of discouragement. With the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, a colonization grant was an impossibility.

It is true that Ontario has made more progress, but the difference can be easily explained. In 1856 a loan of one million dollars was offered to Lower Canada, but was refused. Upper Canada hastened to accept it and built roads. Before the Union we had a surplus of \$300,000, and when the Union was enforced that sum was applied to pay the debts of Upper Canada. I give those details to make known the cause that has delayed our progress.

Moreover, Upper Canada has benefited by the immense lands, which constituted the clergy reserves ; it has also taken advantage of the municipal loan. We had but a few hundreds of thousands acres not worth \$100,000, whilst those of Upper Canada had a value of almost \$200,000. We had still to contend against seigniorial tenure, the country had to be settled with that impediment.

When these facts are considered, we must not be discouraged because a few millions had been invested in public funds. No, we must go ahead. But for the seigniorial tenure, we would have spent \$4,000,000 for colonization purposes.

From official figures published since we ascertain that from 1763 to 1841, the expenditure in Upper Canada reached \$5,592,746, that of Lower Canada being \$4,253,436. From 1841 to 1867, the public works of Upper Canada entailed an expenditure of \$30,029,063, and those of Lower Canada \$20,335,353, a difference in favor of the upper province of \$9,693,710. During the same period the Imperial government expended in Upper Canada \$84,828,450 and \$37,336,301 in Lower Canada, another difference of \$47,492,149. From 1867 to 1884, the expenditure in Ontario for railways and canals is estimated at \$36,600,000, and that of Quebec at \$19,400,000, a further difference of \$16,600,000. In the face of such facts how unjust, how ill founded, is the cry of some politicians that Ontario is the milch cow of Quebec !

You state further : " Again, partly in consequence of the exactions " of the clerical taxgatherer, the *habitant* is unable to pay his fair share " of the Dominion taxes ; and here again the Ontario tax-payer suffers." Another gratuitous charge. The Dominion taxes are the same all along

the line, from Charlottetown to Victoria. The greater part are collected at Quebec ports. The *habitant* is subject to the impost as well as the Ontario farmer. If in the practice he pays less of the customs and excise duties, it is because he is the healthiest, the most frugal, the most temperate, the most moral, the most self-sustaining member of the community. A correspondant of the *Mail*—so much alike the editor—having undertaken to draw a portrait of the *habitant* says that he makes his own sugar ; grows his own tobacco ; often drinks herb tea ; spins and weaves his wool into full cloth and flannel ; scutches, spins and weaves his flax into bags, towellings and the like ; often tans his leather and makes his own boots ; makes his own carts, harrows and hand implements ; and performs a variety of operations not generally practised by Ontario farmers. This picture somewhat overdrawn does not describe an inferior being. It rather exhibits a man of great natural talents and resources, quite able to take care of himself in the struggle for life. Jean-Baptiste may not be the ideal of a farmer, some of his methods may belong to a primitive age, his implements may not be always the newest and the costliest, still he is progressing steadily and tilling the soil at greater advantage, still he is raising more cattle and making more bread and butter from one year to the other, still he manages to keep up a large family, rounding very often the domain, bequeathed to him by his ancestors, by the purchase of the adjoining land. In great many cases the Anglo-Canadian farm is eaten up by the mortgages of the Loan Societies, while usury has ceased to be the plague of our rural districts. When Jean-Baptiste is overcrowded he pays those mortgages and quietly supersedes the former proprietor. Thus the Eastern Townships and Eastern Ontario which were supposed to be the special preserve of the British element, are becoming more French every year. I fully realize your alarms, French seed taking root quickly in every one of your ninety-two constituencies. The long purse of the peasant saved France when she was crushed by the German. The accumulated savings of Jean-Baptiste are accomplishing greater wonders. Evidently the “clerical exactions” still leave a margin upon which he can thrive and progress.

Still more painstaking, more economical, more industrious is his wife which, I firmly believe, has no equal in the world. She does not avoid maternity, according to the criminal practice imputed to “higher races” by Mr. Goldwin Smith. She never heard of Malthus but she scorns his doctrine. She is proud of her children, many as they are, and it would be difficult to give a prize to the most deserving. The celebrated writer,

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Madame de Staël, having asked Napoleon one day : " Which is the most deserving woman ? " He quickly replied : " The one that has the greatest number of children." A cruel answer to a childless woman, but a great compliment to our mothers. Not many years ago the eloquent French preacher, Father Félix, proclaimed the French Canadian woman, from the pulpit of Notre Dame de Paris, the model of the christian woman. Any race could be proud of such an eulogium.

The correspondent already cited says that " the French habitant is " not stupid, but very ignorant and superstitious. Many of them can " neither read nor write, and those who can rarely see books or newspapers." The charge that our habitant is ignorant is false. Those who have seen him and lived with him will tell you that he is superior to the peasant of France. Nay, that he is superior to the farmer of the United Kingdom. Nay more, than he can be compared to almost any like class of the community. Great many of the earliest settlers were well educated, and our celebrated genealogist, Revd. Mr. Tanguay, has ascertained, by a close study of all our registers, the most complete that any nation possesses, that a very large percentage of them could write. Our newspaper publishers will tell you also that their country circulation increases every year in a most encouraging degree. Many a farmer receives not only one but several home educators. His fireside is very often graced with several daughters whose accomplishments would puzzle you. Every morning, you address yourself to a matter of fact people. Well, let us go somewhat into figures. To show your provincial superiority, you are fond of parading educational statistics. It appears from them that you are the shining light of the Dominion. It appears from them that Ontario throws in the shade many American States. Another argument against annexation ! Far from being jealous I applaud heartily, as I am proud of every achievement that throws lustre on the Canadian name. But let us see how Jean-Baptiste stands in those statistics. I ascertain that in 1885, the public schools of Ontario had a total number of pupils of 472,458, with an average attendance of 225,907. In Quebec, the total number of pupils was 258,099, but the average attendance reached the handsome figure of 199,529.* Thus our average attendance is nearly as high as yours although the number of your pupils, as the result of a larger population, is almost double. What is your vaunted eagerness for education compared to Quebec ! Besides we could boast

(*) See *Statistical Record of Canada for the year 1880*. Pages 381-387.

of almost as many schools : Ontario, 5,362 ; Quebec, 5,039. You had better study those figures before underrating your compatriot of the lower province.

Reverting to the question of exemption from taxes, you state :
“ Mr. Tassé’s answer to the complaint that the English minority are
“ burdened through the exemption of so much ecclesiastical property
“ from taxation, is that in proportion to population Protestant exempt-
“ ions in Montreal are larger than Roman Catholic exemptions. His
“ figures, however, merely relate to church buildings in that city.
“ They take no account of the property attached to convents and
“ similar institutions. We are quite ready to admit, however that
“ until the minority is prepared to abolish its own exemptions this part
“ of its case against the majority is not likely to commend itself to
“ unprejudiced outsiders.” Had you examined my figures with some
attention and had you not suppressed my statistical tables for “ mecha-
nical reasons,” you would have ascertained that they cover the whole
ground as far as the city of Montreal is concerned. They do not only
apply to churches, they include presbyteries and benevolent institu-
tions, in fact every kind of religious property, Catholic or Protestant,
exempt from taxation. They knock down the theory of THE MAIL,
still they are true to the letter and must be accepted as such.

In looking over my first letter I notice a misprint, which I desire to
rectify. There are not eleven but twelve constituencies in Quebec,
whose limits cannot be changed without the assent of the majority of
their members on the second and third reading of a bill to that effect.
Clause 80 of the Union Act reads thus :—

The Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall be composed of 65 members, to be
elected to represent the 65 electoral divisions or districts of Lower Canada, subject
to alteration thereof by the Legislature of Quebec ; provided that it shall not be
lawful to present to the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec for assent, any bill for
altering the limits of any of the electoral divisions or districts mentioned in the
second schedule to this act, unless the second and third reading of such bill have
been passed in the Legislative Assembly with the concurrence of the majority of the
members representing all those electoral divisions or districts, and the assent shall
not be given to such bill unless an address has been presented by the Legislative
Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor stating that it has been so passed.

The twelve privileged constituencies are : Stanstead, Compton,
Missisquoi, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Pontiac, Ottawa, Argenteuil, Hun-
tingdon, Brome, Megantic, Richmond and Wolfe. The following
statement indicates that the French-Canadians had, at the last census,
the majority in Shefford, Ottawa, Megantic, Richmond and Wolfe.

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It also shows that if they were less than the half in 1871, they were more numerous, ten years after, than the rest of the population, putting all the counties together :—

CONSTITUENCIES.	Total Population.		French.	
	1871	1881	1871	1881
Stanstead	13,138	15,561	3,212	4,749
Compton	13,665	19,581	3,785	7,706
Missisquoi	16,922	17,784	7,114	8,001
Shefford	19,077	22,293	12,683	16,494
Sherbrooke	8,516	12,231	3,544	5,828
Pontiac	15,810	19,969	3,455	5,054
Ottawa	38,629	49,432	21,514	30,433
Argenteuil	12,806	16,062	3,902	6,414
Huntingdon	16,314	15,495	4,924	4,617
Richmond and Wolfe	20,036	26,339	11,222	15,098
Brome	13,757	15,827	3,471	4,910
Megantic	18,879	19,056	12,074	12,960
Total	207,551	229,530	88,900	132,374

What a contrast when you compare the Union of 1867 with that of 1841 ! Whilst every measure was taken under the act uniting Upper and Lower Canada to secure the rights and privileges of the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, not only was the French language abolished, but a most iniquitous scheme was perpetrated to annihilate French representation. A few figures will serve to illustrate. Kingston, 6,292 souls ; Cornwall, 1,407 ; Niagara, 2,287 ; London, 2,078 ; and Bytown, 3,000, were each given a member with a total population of 15,064 ; whilst Huntingdon, 36,204 souls ; Dorchester, 34,817 ; Berthier, 26,859 ; Two Mountains, 26,855 ; Beauharnois, 28,746 ; having a total population of 153,461, were only given the same representation. That was a genuine "gerrymander." The Act of Union which was proposed by Lord Durham to "subject Lower Canada to the vigorous rule of an English majority," was intended to destroy French Canada, but it became our salvation in the skilful hands of Lafontaine, Morin, Taché, Caron, Cartier, supported as they were by the mass of the people. Of that Act it may well be said : *Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

SEVENTH LETTER.

Another false charge.—The question of Patronage. — French Canadian never had their share.—Striking figures before the Union of 1841.—How the minority was treated.—Testimony of Sir Etienne Pascal Taché.—The cry of "French Domination" raised by Hon. Messrs. Mackenzie, Mowat, James Young and by the "Globe." — My answer in Parliament. — Statistics of 1872, 1881. — The somersault of the "Mail."—The "Globe" explains our insufficiency of representation in the civil service by our ignorance of the English language.—The hollowness of that pretension.—The federal Patronage in 1887.—French still inadequately represented.—How the English minority is treated by the government of Quebec and the city of Montreal.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

One of your many charges against the French race had firstly been trumpeted by the Huntingdon *Gleaner*. Let us take down the words of the oracle: "The English-speaking people during the past fifteen years have been by degrees deprived of their rightful share of representation in municipal and legislative matters, in our law courts and departmental offices."

This is a sweeping charge. But where are the facts, where are the figures to sustain it? I have failed to find them. The Huntingdon *Gleaner* has not produced them. The *Mail* holds its light under the bushel. And as we have not heard again from "A Protestant Minister"—I always thought he was a myth—we are at loss to know all that he may know. I would be fully warranted to make a general denial and to leave you the *onus probandi*. But I am quite willing to set aside the ordinary rules of discussion and to proceed promptly with the defence. There are misconceptions to dispel and misrepresentations to correct, which should no longer be allowed to lead astray the public mind. If a grievance of that kind were to be formulated it should be made by French Canadians and not by their English fellow-

citizens. They are the sufferers and still they are represented as the oppressors. When all the facts are put before the public, it will be admitted that nothing but the most glaring ignorance, as I do not wish to impugn its good faith, could have excused the *Gleaner* from having uttered such a statement.

In a previous letter, to illustrate the condition of things existing before the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, and which culminated in the revolt of 1837, I instanced the iniquitous mode by which the patronage was distributed. French Canadians were treated as a conquered race. They were systematically excluded from office, and although by far the greatest number they had only a few crumbs from the ministerial table. I even quoted article 75 of the celebrated Ninety two Resolutions, which asserted that in 1832, according to an official return, there were 157 officers of English origin against 47 French, although the English population counted but 75,000 out of 600,000 souls.

To have a more extended comprehension of the case, let us review shortly what existed previous to that time. You know that from 1759 to 1764, Lower Canada was administered by a military Council. In 1764, it was replaced by a special Council composed of the most influential Englishmen and of an obscure French Canadian. The population was then estimated at 69,275 inhabitants, of which 500 were Protestants. In 1774, was passed the Quebec Act to which I have already referred as the first public act of the British Parliament, indicating that we were not to be treated as slaves but as freemen. Still a third only of the Legislative Council was French. Then came the Act of 1791. Englishmen were still the majority in the Cabinet and in the Legislative Council. They had nine Legislative Councillors against six of French origin, although the majority of the Assembly was French. There were then in the Province 135,000 French Canadians and 15,000 of other origins. The *Mail* admits that "from the conquest to (say) 1820, the French had good ground for complaining. A number of English-Canadians, belonging to the class from which the members of the family compact in Upper Canada were drawn, sought to obtain control of the province, partly with a view of breaking down the guarantees enjoyed by the French and of making one people out of the two races through the process of assimilation." The Union Act of 1841 was intended to annihilate French Canada. The upper province alone was consulted about its adoption. I do not take into account the special Council of Lower Canada, a mere sham, a tool in the hands of

the Governor. Upper Canada assented to the proposal provided there would be an equality of representation, although it counted only 450,000 souls whilst Lower Canada could claim 650,000. Another condition was that the debts of Upper Canada, amounting to \$5,925,779, would be paid out of the common fund. Lower Canada had not a cent of debt. It had even a surplus of \$189,306.* A third condition was that the seat of Government should be situated in Upper Canada. The Legislative Assembly presented also an address to the Queen claiming the abolition of the French language. Messrs. Merritt, Small and McDonald, of Glengarry, alone voted against that iniquitous proposition.

As to the responsibility of political parties in that connection, let us hear a good and disinterested judge, the late Sir Louis Hyppolite Lafontaine. "The Reformers of Upper Canada, or at least their representatives, are the men that have assumed the responsibility of the Act of Union and of its unjust and tyrannical provisions, by leaving all the details to the discretion of the Governor General." After its consummation the subject of the Union came before the House. All the French members, save Messrs. Delisle and Salaberry, denounced it by their votes, and nine Englishmen sided with them: Baldwin, Aylwyn, Hincks, Armstrong, Christie, Hamilton, Hopkins, Nelson and Price. Let us honor those names.

It remains to see how matters have been managed since the Union. The first administration (Draper) was composed of eight ministers, five from Upper Canada and three from Lower Canada. Not one French Canadian. The Legislative Council was composed of twenty-four members, and eight were French: Hon. R. E. Caron, de Blaquieres,

*In 1840, Lord Sydenham wrote these lines:

"In the summer of 1839, Upper Canada was on the eve of bankruptcy. With an annual revenue of not more than £78,000, the interest on the debt amounted to £65,000, and the ordinary expenses of the Government amounted to £55,000, thus leaving an annual deficit of £42,000, while the absence of a sea port deprived it of the power of augmenting its revenue by the ordinary and less onerous means of imposing taxes."

In a letter written in November 1839, Lord Sydenham had said:

"The finances are still more dilapidated than is believed in England. The annual deficit is already £75,000, and exceeds the revenue. All the public works are suspended. The immigration from the Province goes on rapidly and in great numbers. The Union offers the only means of settling the finances, inasmuch as it will determine England to aid Upper Canada to fill its empty treasury."

Bartholémy Joliette, Jules Quesnel, Frs. P. Bruneau, J. B. Taché, Et. Mayrand, Ol. Berthelet. With Sir Charles Bagot was inaugurated the true era of constitutional government. The Baldwin-Lafontaine cabinet was formed in the following year (1842), and though a vast improvement on its predecessors, it comprised but two French-Canadians, and eminent ones they were, Lafontaine and Morin.

Matters mended gradually, and in 1849 great was our jubilation when the French language was re-established under the auspices of the great Lord Elgin. In looking over the names of the Hincks-Morin cabinet formed in 1852, and composed of ten ministers, I notice that out of five Lower Canadians four were French : Messrs. Morin, Chauveau, Taché and Chabot. Now as to the treatment of the English minority of the Province during and before the Union, I could not do better than to cite the following words from Sir E. P. Taché, who presided at the Conference of Quebec, which enacted the famous resolutions upon which was based the Act of Union. These words were uttered in the course of his speech in favor of Confederation before the Legislative Council of Old Canada :

That the people of Lower Canada always acted towards the English with liberality was best exemplified by facts. Before the Union, while the constituencies were almost exclusively French, English Protestant gentlemen were frequently returned to Parliament ; and he had now opposite to him an honorable member, who had for twenty years represented an entirely French and Roman Catholic county. He doubts that in the course of these twenty years the honorable gentleman had ever been asked whether he was Scotch or Protestant. They took the man for his sterling worth. It was even a fact that the French had elected members with extraordinary names, and, as everybody knows, there was sometimes a good deal in a name. Now, if there was one name which French Canadians disliked more than another it was that of Luther. Yet they had elected a gentleman bearing that significant appellation. He was glad they had, and he had no doubt he had been elected because of his personal worth, but it unquestionably showed a great deal of liberal feeling on the part of the electors. But if an English Protestant was bad in the eyes of a French Canadian, a French Protestant was infinitely worse, and yet the county of Lotbinière had elected a French Canadian Protestant without even questioning his religion. But again, quite lately in a division in Lower Canada, numbering 50,000 souls of which only 1,400 were English, an election of a member to this Chamber had taken place, the candidates being a French Roman Catholic gentleman, long and well known, and an English Protestant, and with what result ? Why that that English Protestant had beaten the French Roman Catholic by 1,000 votes. Could any greater proof of a tolerant and liberal feeling be exhibited ?

When the Act of Confederation was discussed before the Imperial Parliament, the public of France paid naturally some attention to a political evolution which concerned so deeply their " kin across the

sea." Most of them were opposed to it as being calculated to increase the preponderance of the English-speaking element, against which we were contending. One of these articles, published by *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (April 1867), is before me. It takes the ground that French Canadians were already unfairly treated in the distribution of patronage, and that they would count as so many cyphers in a Confederation composed of several provinces alien to them in language, laws, religion and customs. The following figures then set forth by the anti-Unionists were quoted to show how disproportionately we were represented in the public service :

	<i>English.</i>	<i>French.</i>
In the two branches of the Legislature.....	100	86
Civil Service.....	2165	337
Administration of Justice (Upper and Lower Canada)....	934	294
Public Institutions.....	444	74
Scientific and Educational Institutions.....	44	41
	3146	832

A difference of 2,314 in favor of officers of English-speaking origin. And still the majority of Ontario led, or rather misled, by George Brown, had been contending all along that the country was ruled by the vanquished and not by the victors. This state of things continued after Confederation. The Reform party did not cease to denounce vehemently Sir John MacDonald for being too subservient to Quebec interests. The Hon. James Young used the following language in the Ontario Legislature, on the 18th January 1882: "In the old Province of Canada Sir John kept office for fifteen years by denying the rights of Ontario to obtain a French Canadian majority, and his action on the boundary award was evidently dictated by the same motives..... The Government at Ottawa evidently hope to ingratiate themselves into the confidence of other Provinces, and particularly Quebec, by dismembering Ontario and cutting down to one half its actual size." Another leading Reformer was even credited with saying that Ontario "had long enough been made the catspaw of French lickers." One day, and that day is not very distant, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie forgot himself so much as to use the following insulting language: "Sir John and his Ministers are mere puppets in the hands of a French majority; they are jumping-jacks who jump when the Quebec string is pulled, though I fancy it must be rather humiliating for him to dance to such music." (*Globe*, 30th January, 1883.) In a speech delivered in Toronto during the electoral campaign of that year, Hon. Mr. Mowat,

Premier of Ontario, was reported to have said : " Why was
" Sir John so much opposed to his own Province ? There was
" but one explanation, which was that Sir John was under the
" coercion of the Bleus of Quebec. He thought they had got rid
" of that. For a long time they had to fight against that party, and
" many remembered the struggle, how their legislation was dictated
" from Lower Canada, and from one section, the Bleu party of Lower
" Canada. At length Upper Canada could stand it no longer and
" Confederation was a consequence. They would be no longer under
" Lower Canada. But now we were to be deprived of half the pro-
" vince because the Bleus of Lower Canada willed it, and because
" they had at the head of the Government a man who was determined
" to remain in office even if half his Province should be sacrificed for
" it." This was a false charge as the French conservative members,
moved by a high sense of justice, always agreed to refer the boundary
award to the highest tribunal of the empire, the Privy Council. Even
poetry was indulged in to array Ontario against Quebec. Let us hear
the Liberal bard, Mr. Edgar, M. P. :

The, desperate, reckless Tory crew
Ontario ! Ontario !
At bidding of the Quebec Bleu
Ontario ! Ontario !
Would rob thee of thy rich domain
But all their plots shall be in vain
They 'll never get thy votes again
Ontario ! Ontario !

On the 4th November, 1879, the *Globe* published the following
charge :

The old saying that Ontario is the milch cow for the remaining Provinces, was
never more forcibly proven than it is by the action of the present Government in
relation to the distribution of patronage. Ontario, with nearly one half of the popu-
lation of the Dominion, and directly and indirectly contributing a larger proportion
than that to the Dominion revenue only at the present time receives about one-fifth
of the patronage. The Department of Finance, Justice, Railways and Canals, Marine
and Fisheries and of the Speaker of the Senate, are devoted to the three Maritime
Provinces, while of the remaining departments those of Public Works, Inland
Revenue, Militia and Defence and the House of Commons are given to the Province
of Quebec alone. In the Department of the Speaker of the Commons the French
Canadians are receiving the lion's share, and the English-speaking employes are
being plundered to satisfy them. Last session of Parliament in this department pages
and messengers were employed who could not speak a word of English. These are
specimens of the manner in which Speaker Blanchet is administering the affairs of
his department

I was at the time a member of the House of Commons and I thought it my duty to investigate that charge, which had become quite a war-cry for our opponents. On the 25th April, 1882, I gave the result of my labor after having analyzed an immense quantity of statistics. My investigations convinced me and cannot but convince any impartial man that far from being the spoiled children of Confederation, our people did not receive a fair share of public patronage, taking population as the basis. These figures having lost nothing of their actuality, I will submit them to your consideration. I gave first the statement of the inside service for the year 1881 :

INSIDE SERVICE.

(From the Public Accounts of 1881.)

DEPARTMENT.	FRENCH.		OTHER ORIGINS.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Governor General's Secretary Office..	....	.....	7	\$ 12,875 00
Privy Council.....	3	\$ 3,750 00	13	20,349 60
Justice.....	....	.....	17	19,040 05
Militia and Defence.....	10	12,529 15	20	22,568 28
Secretary of State.....	7	8,566 67	32	28,234 98
Interior.....	6	6,150 00	50	55,881 48
Auditor General's Office.....	2	1,444 55	15	19,866 63
Finance.....	....	.....	42	49,925 00
Treasury Board.....	....	.....	2	2,133 38
Customs.....	2	4,050 00	24	26,511 97
Land Revenue.....	5	4,984 63	21	24,249 23
Public Works.....	10	13,750 09	11	14,008 48
Railways and Canals.....	8	13,275 00	18	24,477 73
Post Office Department.....	13	8,860 17	101	92,383 46
Agriculture.....	22	212 30	8	11,775 00
Marine and Fisheries.....	5	5,100 00	20	21,347 50
Civil Service Board.....	....	.....	2	600 00
	93	\$182,678 56	403	\$439,227 77

It was impossible to find a similar return as far as the officers of Parliament and those of the outside service were concerned, their names, for some unaccountable reason, not being given in the Public Accounts. But a return similar to that was produced in 1872, and I drew from it the following statement :

PARLIAMENT.

(From an official return published in 1872.)

	FRENCH.		OTHER ORIGINS.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Commons.....	19	\$17,910 00	33	\$ 38,919 50
Senate.....	9	10,400 00	11	8,900 00
Parliament Library.....	5	6,500 00	7	8,550 00
	33	\$34,810 00	51	\$56,369 50

OUTSIDE SERVICE.

(Customs, Post Office, Inland Revenue, Marine and Fisheries, Public Works, etc.)

	FRENCH.		OTHER ORIGINS.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Nova Scotia.....	14	\$ 3,289 00	891	\$ 293,393 25
New Brunswick.....	14	3,100 00	509	216,579 50
Quebec.....	321	135,728 50	431	220,474 50
Ontario.....	15	5,780 00	714	393,899 25
Manitoba.....	1	600 00	6	3,250 00
British Columbia.....	.....	.....	12	17,620 00
Generally.....	7	4,710 00	41	26,322 00
	372	\$153,217 50	2604	\$1,171,538 50

To show how I arrived at such figures touching the Province of Quebec, I submitted the following detailed statement :

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

	FRENCH.		OTHER ORIGINS.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Customs.....	75	\$ 34,634 50	156	\$ 78,225 50
Post Office	70	35,180 00	77	51,239 00
Inland Revenue.....	37	24,365 00	35	29,000 00
Public Works.....	35	13,199 00	39	18,636 00
Marine.....	104	28,350 00	123	42,576 00
	321	\$135,728 50	430	\$219,676 50

ABSTRACT.

	FRENCH.		OTHER ORIGINS.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Inside Service.....	582	\$ 634,093	128	\$138,506
Outside Service.....	2976	1,324,756	372	153,217
	3558	\$1,958,849	500	\$291,723
			3058	\$1,667,125

These figures give a proportion of French employees of seven per cent. According to population it should be a little more than one fourth. The total population of Canada at the last census is computed at 4,324,810, whilst the French alone numbered 1,299,161.

The disproportion is still larger in the salaries. These figures demonstrate also that if the French element had more than its share in a few branches of the service, it was not fairly represented in some, whilst totally ignored in others. But what becomes of the statement of the *Gleaner* when we see that in the Province of Quebec, where the nine twelfths of the people are of French origin, the English-speaking minority had even secured the lion's share. What becomes of his charge when we find that in 1872 there were in the Departments of Customs, Post office, Inland Revenue, Public Works, Marine and Fisheries, 431 English-speaking officers, receiving \$220,474.50, against 321 French employes, receiving \$135,728.50. That is to say there were 110 more English-speaking officers than French in the Province of Quebec. The *Gleaner* may now speak of French Domination ! I may say that Hon. Mr. Ross, the present Minister of Education, and Mr. Casey, M. P., criticized my speech, but that they did not dispute the accuracy of my statement. Hon. Mr. Laurier even contended that he was not aware that the cry of French Domination had been raised by his Ontario friends. The *Mail* could not swallow such a dose of real or fictitious ignorance, and it adverted to it in strong language, which I would not quote, owing to its flattering allusion to myself, but for the striking somersault of that paper which it illustrates. Those lines appeared on the 29th April, 1882 :

Mr Tassé, M. P., did a bold thing up in a masterly way in forcing the cry of "French Domination," and without offending a single individual, except one, spoiling completely the pretty theory of the *Globe* that the Frenchmen were "running" the country. Mr Tassé's figures as to the relative strength of the French and English in the public service were interesting enough, but they were eclipsed by the purely political aspects of the case he presented. He showed how, while the Grit organs in Ontario were screaming that the Dominion was under "French Domination" the Grit (French) papers in Quebec were declaring that under the "Tory" rule the French-speaking race was being outraged and neglected. The way in which Mr. Tassé exposed the hypocrisy of this state of things was most effective. When Mr. Laurier confessed that he was not aware that the Grit press of Ontario had raised the cry of French domination he was either exposing in the simplest way the ignorance which prevails among the Rouges of the currents of thought among their own party, or he was guilty of something very like a prevarication. Does Mr. Laurier read the *Globe* ? If so, his ignorance of the cry of "French Domination" can hardly be taken for granted. We fancy that the French Liberals find it more agreeable to ignore the organ of their party in Ontario. They have had to pay a good deal and suffer a good deal for its alliance. They have certainly strong claims to some sort of sympathy, for they stand more insults, more annoyance, more bullying, than human beings ought to have to stand from political allies. Occasionally, as on the boundary question, they *do* rebel ; the *worm* does turn ; but as a rule, Mr. Laurier and Mr. Cas-

grain take the insults on their race with great coolness and good humor—shall we say, with great indifference? Mr. Tasse's exposure of one phase of their hypocrisy will suggest the other phases that exist with some degree of fulness among men for whom political life just now is all self-suppression and self-content.

Quantum mutatus ab illo! The *Globe*, which up to that time had contended that French Canadians were too liberally treated, suddenly came to the conclusion that these figures completely demolished its old-time pretensions. It even implicitly admitted their correctness in asserting that if there was not a larger percentage of French employes, it was owing to their lack of proper qualification. The following extract of an article commenting on my speech, which it published on the 27th April, 1882, cannot be left unnoticed:

There is a very plain and palpable reason why a larger proportion of French Canadians have not obtained posts in the public service. The number of those who are qualified for responsible positions is smaller than that of other nationalities—not because they are less intelligent or worse educated, but because also a large proportion of them persistently refuse to learn English. The systematic policy of isolation which they pursue, their non-receptiveness to the ideas, habits of thought and business methods of their English speaking fellow-citizens, largely unfit them for posts for which they are otherwise well-qualified. The study of English is positively discouraged in many circles in Quebec. It is on record that a leading public man inflicted a severe chastisement on his son for the offence of learning the language spoken by three-fourths of the Canadian community.

What a gratuitous insult! What a ridiculous story about that leading public man, whose name is not given, and who is represented chastising his son for learning the language of Shakespeare. Far from being discouraged, the teaching of the English language has never been so wide-spread in Quebec as it is to-day. It is with such tales, such misrepresentations, such systematic abuse, that the *Globe* has for so many years poisoned the public mind of Ontario. I have been a member of the public service of Ottawa, and I have never met a French employe who was not tolerably familiar with the English language. So unfounded is that statement that a very large number of French aspirants have passed the civil service examination, proving themselves conversant with the two languages, and are now waiting employment. It was Charles V, who said: *Autant de langues qu'on sait, autant de fois on est homme* (as many languages as a man knows, so many times he is a man). The literate French Canadian learns enough of Greek, Latin and English to multiply his intellectual capacities. Let his fellow-citizens of other origins meet him half-way by the study of his language and they shall not fail by a common intercourse to know and appreciate each other. Then the abyss which fanatics try to open between the two races shall be bridged.

The situation has been somewhat improved during the last decade. The official list of last year shows that the total number of the officers of the Dominion Government was 4,458, out of which 825 were French. From that list I have extracted the following statement :

INSIDE SERVICE.	French.	English.
Governor-General's Office.....	0	5
Privy Council.....	4	17
Justice.....	1	14
Militia and Defence.....	11	19
Secretary of State.....	9	14
Civil Service Board.....	1	3
Public Printing.....	4	14
Department of the Interior.....	9	56
Mounted Police.....	1	4
Indian Affairs.....	2	30
Auditor-General.....	2	19
Finance.....	2	38
Inland Revenue.....	6	22
Customs.....	2	27
Postoffice.....		167
Agriculture.....	25	16
Marine.....	2	17
Fisheries.....	3	16
Public Works.....	16	11
Railways and Canals.....	9	1)
Senate.....	12	14
House of Commons.....	30	40
	174	582
OUTSIDE SERVICE.		
Justice.....	59	168
Militia and Defence.....	8	10
Interior.....	11	52
Mounted Police.....	3	41
Indian Affairs.....	12	94
Finance.....	0	38
Inland Revenue.....	86	324
Customs.....	107	893
Post office.....	208	869
Agriculture.....	25	66
Marine.....	76	229
Fisheries.....	2	18
Railways and Canals.....	54	249
Total.....	651	3,051
Inside Service.....	174	582
	825	3,633

Although that statement is more satisfactory than that which I submitted to the House of Commons, still the French do not receive one-fifth of the public offices, not to speak of the difference in the salaries, whilst they are entitled to more than one-fourth. Is this French domination ?

Let me complete this statement by other figures still more striking. Out of 8 lieutenant-governors in the Dominion one is French ; of 15 Federal ministers 3 are French ; of 19 deputy heads of departments, 4 are French ; of 76 Senators, 18 are French ; of 214 members of the House of Commons, 53 are French ; of the 7 judges of the Supreme and Exchequer Courts, 2 are French ; of the 6 judges of the Court of Queen's Bench of Quebec, 3 are French ; of the 26 judges of the Superior Court of Quebec, 18 are French. I do not know of a single French judge of the Superior Court in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and British Colombia, although these five Provinces had a French population of 211,667, according to the last census ; that is to say, a larger number than the Protestants of Quebec who numbered 188,309.

The English speaking minority of Quebec is represented by one Federal minister out of 4 ; 6 Senators out of 24 ; 11 members of the House of Commons out of 65. I wish the French minority of the other Provinces were as handsomely treated. Another item worth noticing : From the last postal guide I have ascertained that in April last there were in the Province of Quebec 1357 post offices, out of which 805 are held by French Canadians and 552 by English speaking people. This does not look like ostracism. In the local legislature there are 7 English speaking Legislative Councillors out of 24, and 13 members of the Legislative Assembly out of 65. Before the Mercier administration came into power they always had two ministers in the Cabinet holding important portfolios. I admit you have now a grievance on that account, and that it should be redressed speedily, your only minister being a mere figurehead, having neither influence nor portfolio. That exceptional anomaly is due, no doubt, to the fact that not a single English member was returned at the last election to support Mr. Mercier.

Perhaps you will be desirous to ascertain now how the minority is treated by the French Government of Quebec in its distribution of public patronage. I may enlighten you by the following statement which I have made out of the Public Accounts for the year 1886, the last issued :

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

	FRENCH.		ENGLISH.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
Lieutenant-Governor's office.....	1	\$ 100 00	3	\$ 2,450
Executive Council.....	3	2,800 00	..	.....
Provincial Secretary.....	9	11,647 50	1	1,200
Registrar.....	3	2,800 00	..	.....
Attorney-General	5	8,766 66	..	.....
Treasurer	1	800 00	10	14,050
Auditor	6	6,350 00	3	3,650
Crown Lands.....	20	29,690 00	8	12,050
Agriculture and Public Works.....	15	15,632 32	3	7,600
Education	10	41,926 00	5	5,320
Railways	1	400 00	1	4,000
Sheriffs.....	25	81,528 00	6	20,023
Coroners.....	17	4,230 00	6	6,820
District magistrates.....	6	7,420 00	1	2,325
Galil physicians.....	3	1,160 00	4	1,200
Office inspectors.....	4	5,200 00	2	4,300
Crown Land Agencies.....	19	50,240 00	16	47,480
Cadastral surveying.....	3	3,210 00	1	2,400
<i>Official Gazette</i>	5	11,479 00	..	.....
Total.....	165	\$285,379 48	70	\$134,868

The English people of Montreal are justly proud of the leading position which they occupy in commerce, finance, shipping, railways, etc. Britons may be a nation of shopkeepers, according to Napoleon, but shopkeepers rule the world. Here, they have been mainly instrumental in securing to Montreal her predominant position as the commercial emporium of Canada. And none is more willing than your disputant to give them all the credit which they richly deserve. One of our most important public boards is the Harbour Commission. It is composed of nine members, the Mayor of Montreal being one of them. By their names you will judge that there is not the slightest evidence of French domination in the office : Messrs. Andrew Robertson, chairman ; Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, mayor, Hon. J. B. Rolland, Edward Murphy, Henry Bulmer, Victor Hudon, Hugh McLennan, Charles H. Gould, Andrew Allan. I have examined the list of the Harbor Commissioners from 1830 to 1887. It shows 51 names, out of which I find 15 of French origin. We must go elsewhere to find out your ghost !

As to municipal representation, let us see how matters stand in the great city. During many years the English element preponderated in the Council although they were the minority. Presently out of 36

aldermen, representing twelve wards, 20 are French and 16 belong to other origins. The employes under their control number 100, 63 are French and 37 of other origins. From 1852 to 1887, the gentlemen elected to fill the high position of Mayor have been Messrs. Chas. Wilson, W. Nelson, H. Starnes, C. S. Rodier, J. L. Beaudry, W. Workman, C. Coursol, Jos. Cassidy, A. Bernard, Dr. Hingston, S. Rivard, H. Beaugrand and J. J. C. Abbott. The present incumbent secured a tremendous majority against a French Canadian, Ald. Rainville, having been supported by the whole French press, and on the night of victory he publicly declared that but for our assistance he could not have been elected to fill the civic chair. I extract the following from his speech which was cheered to the echo, according to the *Montreal Gazette*, March 2, 1887 :

We must not forget on this occasion that we owe our victory very largely, I may say, almost entirely, to the magnanimity and generosity of our French friends. (Loud cheers.) It was an admirable thought ; it was a gracious and a pleasant and an amicable thought of our French citizens when they proposed that, after a series of years, during which the civic chair was filled by a gentleman of French origin, that we the English-speaking citizens should now have our turn. (Cheers). Our French fellow-citizens announced that their English speaking friends should have the satisfaction of seeing in the civic chair one of their own race and one speaking their own language. Many people thought and many people said that the offer of the French Canadian people would not be carried out and that the promise of their journals and their leaders would not be carried out. ("No, no,") I never did think so. (Cheers.) I have always thought that once the minds of the French Canadian people were made up, once they gave a pledge of their sincerity, their word was as good as their bond, and there was no danger of their promise not being fulfilled. (Cheers.) With the intelligent and well-meaning section of the French Canadian people I knew we could rely on their *parole d'honneur*. (Loud cheers.)

Ab uno disce omnes. I have not the statement of the other cities and villages, but I feel quite sure that they indicate almost everywhere the same liberality, the same respect for equal rights, the same desire to enjoy in common with our fellows citizen of other origins, whom Providence has placed in our midst for our greater advantage, the inestimable blessings of political and municipal liberties which have made of the province an example worth imitating by all the mixed communities of this broad Dominion.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

EIGHTH LETTER.

The "Mail" celebrates the "imbued virtues" of the French-Canadian race.—Admits that my eulogy of Catholic schools and colleges is well deserved.—How they fared at the International Exhibitions.—Success of the Christian Brothers at New Orleans, acknowledged by the Commissioners.—Evil effects of unchristian education in France and United States.—Extract from "Satan in Society" corroborated by leading American papers.—Catholics are resisting the unchristian system and founding parochial schools.—They are subject to double taxation, not in Canada.—The Common Schools must be altered or disappear.—The Prussian system is a Christian one.—Opinions of Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Guizot, Robert Peel, Gladstone, Leo XIII, and John Eaton.—Christian education can alone save a nation.

To the Editor of THE MAIL.

SIR,

Your articles contain various admissions of which I shall note the two most important. They are a tribute to truth which one could hardly expect to find in your denunciations. I quote: "We beg Mr. Tassé to believe that THE MAIL is not animated by the slightest animosity toward the French Canadian people or their creed. They are entitled to all the rights and privileges, civil and religious, we demand for ourselves. They were the pioneers of civilization here, and the imbued virtues they have displayed through all these years stand to their lasting credit. Nevertheless, we believe it to be exceedingly unfortunate for themselves and the country that they should not have been allowed to participate in the manifold benefits springing from modern enlightenment." One would think from these lines that you are our best friend, that we have no greater admirer of our "imbued virtues," that when you are accumulating day by day columns of abuse and threatening us with a revision of the Treaty of Paris, your earnest wish is to secure us all the rights and privileges, civil and religious, which a British citizen could desire. How simple-minded and ungrateful we are!

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Our great draw-back, it appears, is our stubbornness to resist "modern enlightenment." These are dazzling words, and to understand them even imperfectly, you offer me the following observation in your third and last article: "Mr. Tassé's eulogium of the Roman Catholic schools and colleges in Quebec is no doubt well deserved, but it has no bearing upon the present controversy. He is aware, of course, that the system he so eloquently commends is being cast aside by the state in the most enlightened Roman Catholic countries." I am glad to know that my eulogium of our colleges and schools is well deserved. Then you give up your whole case. If the eulogium is not exaggerated, the system must be appropriate to our circumstances. You must have some regard for logic. The system may not be perfect, still it has stood successfully the test of time, still it has been improved gradually, still it has been highly appreciated at the international exhibitions of Paris, Philadelphia and London.* You may not be an admirer of the religious orders as teachers, still in many international competitions, the pupils of the Christian Brothers have carried the first prizes. At the centennial Exhibition held at New Orleans (1884-85), they obtained the grand diploma of honor for collective educational exhibits, several diplomas of honor, certificates of merit and honorable mentions for their many institutions which included 2 normal schools, 11 colleges, 12 academies, 37 parochial schools, 2 industrial and training schools and 2 orphanages. You may judge of the extent of their exhibits by the fact that they covered ninety feet, their installation being most systematically and artistically arranged. The greatest compliments were paid to them as educators by the American Commissioners. This short extract of their Report is most conclusive: "La Salle's motto was "Principles of education are universal; their application must be local," hence the Brothers are alive to every change in the popular phase of education. They hold to nothing merely because it has the sanction of antiquity. They are ready to adopt what stands the test of experience. As a body, conservative yet progressive, they are saved from the disastrous

*Quebec had a difficult problem to solve in organizing a system of education for a population the majority of which are Roman Catholic, but the solution has been successful. As in Ontario, both higher and elementary education are provided for by the State and the municipalities combined, and the various classes of institutions are almost as varied. The Quebec educational exhibits are sufficient to show that in Quebec as in Ontario, education is on a sound and healthy footing.—*London Times*, September 21, 1886.

“ effects of individual experimentation.” You will be surprised to learn that your own deputy minister of Education, Mr. I. George Hodgins, paid to them the following compliment : “ I shall not be doing justice to other parts of the great exhibit if I did not refer to the very extensive and admirable collection of the Christian Brothers, under the direction of our excellent friend, Brother Maurelian, President of the college of Memphis. That exhibit is one of the most interesting in the Exposition. Its educational appliances are admirable, while the benevolent and truly Christian work done by the “ Catholic Protect ” was a surprise and gratification to myself and to other members of the jury.” I may add that a committee in a recent report to the British Parliament wrote : “ Had we known the system of the Christian Brothers, Lancasterian methods would never have been tolerated in our schools.”

What you want is a non-sectarian, a godless education, such as it exists in the United States or in the French Republic. Briefly, you want to banish Christ from the school, to emasculate education of all that gives it vitalizing power. May Providence save us forever from such “ modern enlightenment ! ” The present school system is the curse of France. It is perverting the public mind to an awful extent. It is producing a generation of infidels. The results have been so alarming and so mischievous that the clergy, assisted by the best classes, have been establishing free universities, academies and schools, which are meeting with the greatest success. The American Republic is also demoralized by its school system, although it is not pervaded by the spirit of infidelity to the same extent. The best minds, among them many leading Protestants, view the future with the gravest apprehension. They attribute the corruption which is spreading, at an awful rate, to the suppression of religious instruction in the public schools. I have no objection to state that one of my chief objections against annexation, would be that unchristian system of education. That system is the canker-worm of the commonwealth.

A few years ago was published an American book, the work of a celebrated physician, whose startling revelations created an immense sensation. The book is entitled “ Satan in Society ” and denounces the materialistic system of school instruction as the greatest agency of social depravity and national disorganisation. There are pages of that book which could not be reproduced here, horrid as are the details therein contained. The following will be quite sufficient for the present purpose :

"The evil dangers of the present system of education, and bringing up the boys and girls of our country, are too obvious to require minute description. Irreligion and infidelity are progressing *pari passu* with the advance guards of immorality and crime, and all are fostered, if not engendered, by the materialistic system of school instruction, and the consequent wretched training at home and on the play ground. The entire absence of all religious instruction from the school room is fast bearing fruit in a generation of infidels, and we are becoming worse even than the Pagans of old, who had at least their positive sciences of philosophy, and their religion such as it was, to oppose which was a criminal offence.

"But we have not only the removal of the salutary restraints of religious influence from our popular system of education: we have the promiscuous intermingling of the sexes in our public schools, which however much we may theorize to the contrary, is, to say the least, subversive of that modest reserve and shyness which in all ages have proved the true axis of virtue. We are bound to accept human nature as it is, and not as we would wish it to be, and both Christian and Pagan philosophy agree in detecting therein certain very dangerous elements. . . . Nourished by languishing glances during the hours passed in the school room, fanned by more intimate association on the journey to and from school, fed by stolen interviews and openly arranged festivities—pic nics, excursions, parties and the like—stimulated by the prurient gossip of the newspaper, the flash novels, sentimental weeklies and magazines, the gallant of twelve years is the libertine of fourteen. That this picture is not overdrawn, every experienced physician will bear witness.

"And as for the Public School girls, they return from their '*polishing schools*'—these demoiselles—cursed with a superficial smattering of everything but that which they ought to have learned—physical and moral wrecks, whom we, physicians, are expected to *wind up* in the morning for the husband-hunting excitements of the evening. And these creatures are intended for wives! But *wives* only, for it is fast going out of fashion to intend them for *mothers*—an 'accident' of the kind being regarded as 'foolish'!

"We assert, then, that the present system of education, by its faults of omission and commission, is directly responsible, not, it is true, for the bare existence, but for the enormous prevalence of vices and crimes, which we deplore; and we call upon the civil authorities to so modify the obnoxious arrangements of our schools, and upon parents and guardians to so instruct and govern their charges, that the evils may be suppressed, if not extinguished."

Sensational as they were, these charges were sustained by several leading newspapers. The *Chicago Times* said that "the public school system in Chicago had become so corrupt that any school boy attending, who had reached fourteen years of age, was whistled at by his companions as a *spooney* if he had not a *liaison* with some one or more of the public school girls." The *Daily Sentinel*, of Indianapolis, quoting approvingly those remarks, added: "It was only too true of Indianapolis, also judging by the wanton manners of troops of the girls attending public schools in Indianapolis." The reputation of Prof. Agassiz is indisputable. Having had to in-

investigate the subject, he saw such depths of degradation to which men and women had fallen, that he almost lost faith in the century. In the course of his inquiries in Boston, he frequently conversed with the inmates of "houses of pleasure" and "private establishments", and the life histories that were revealed were sad indeed. To his utter surprise, a large proportion of the "soiled doves" traced their fall to influences that met them in the Public Schools. Judge the tree by its fruits.

It may be remarked here that the un-sectarian system of the States exists only since 1840 or there about. And even now, where schools are exclusively conducted by Protestants, the religious character of such schools is perfectly distinct. So much so that a Presbyterian divine of Rochester said in a sermon: "There is a great deal of religion in our schools..... from the ringing of the bell up to the recitation in the Anabasis, there is scarcely one thing that is not toned and shaped by the religion of our blessed Lord." In his remarkable letters to the *Winnipeg Standard*, to which I have already referred, His Grace Archbishop Taché asserts that if there were no Catholics to be injured, the establishment of non-sectarian schools would never have been thought of in Canada, no more than in the United States. As a body Protestants are adverse to the system in itself, as clearly demonstrated by a close investigation. Infidels alone like the system for itself. As if Catholics were opposed to the words of Eternal Truth, a prominent Protestant clergyman said one day, at a meeting held in New-York, that "while it was useless for the Protestants to trouble themselves about the conversion of the adult emigrant Catholics, between the two stones of the mill the Bible and the Common Schools, they would grind Catholicity out of their children."

The non-sectarian system is giving so little satisfaction that private religious schools are established by hundreds in almost every state. In 1840, the celebrated Governor Seward uttered these memorable words: "I do not hesitate to recommend the establishment of schools in which they will be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith." These words are the best commendation of the Canadian system. Those private religious schools were attracting so many pupils that the Superintendent of education in Buffalo, made the following alarming report, some years ago: "The increase of the number and attendance of pupils at private schools, during the past ten years, is a subject of serious consideration. Formerly the public schools monopolized almost entirely the education of

"our youth; but at the present time, private and religious schools "are attended by nearly 25 per cent of those who are of the school "age." Any number of quotations could be produced to the same effect. In 1885 the Catholics had 36 theological seminaries, 88 colleges, 593 academies and 2,697 parochial schools, attended by 537,725 students. Every where they have to pay double taxation to give religious tuition to their children, and that taxation is most heavy when we know that last year the common schools alone costed over \$110,000,000. Catholics of the States are thereby less free than their Canadian brethren whose taxes support solely their own schools. Shall they always submit to that treatment which drains their earnings and constitutes an infringement on their conscience? I think not. The agitation commenced by them will extend to other denominations, and may become irresistible. The system must receive radical changes, based on the Canadian model, as recommended by the Catholic Prelacy assembled in Baltimore.

The experience of all ages, of all nations, is opposed to that system. It is an error to assume that it is borrowed from Prussia, as sprung from the genius of Frederick the Great. The skeleton has been taken, not its life-blood. That King may have been the friend of Voltaire, still he was fully convinced that instruction unaccompanied with religion would be the worst gift ever given to his people. So were all the greatest geniuses that I could invoke. *Faites-nous des croyantes et non des raisonneuses. Je veux faire de ces jeunes filles des femmes utiles, certain que j'en ferai par là des femmes agréables*, exclaimed Napoléon, one day, in referring to the female institution which he created with so much care at Ecouen. Listen now to the superb utterance of the illustrious Protestant Guizot: "I wish religion to be the permeating atmosphere of the "school house." Lord Derby, sir Robert Peel, sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Gladstone have all condemned what it is called the unsectarian system as most pernicious. "If the world is to be saved," says Leo XIII, "instruction must be more christian." Let me add the following significative words of the United States Commissioner of Education, Hon. John Eaton: "Educators may well "seriously inquire whether the tendency of the systems they are conducting are as thoroughly promotive of the practice of virtue as "they ought to be and can be. ... Yet no one, contemplating the "means of promoting the individual good or the public welfare, can "be satisfied with an education which so intensifies intellectual "activity as to overlook the necessity for the training and direction

“ of the moral nature.” These authorities carry so much weight and are so much superior to all that I could say, that I will hasten to conclude on that most important point, proving as they do, in the fullest manner, that a Christian system of education, such as it exists here, is the only one that that can invigorate and elevate a nation.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH TASSÉ.

APPENDIX.

QUEBEC COMPARED WITH ONTARIO FROM A MORAL POINT OF VIEW.

OTTAWA, 9th DECEMBER, 1887.

Dear Sir,

The action of the Toronto *Mail* in declining to publish the concluding letter of your very able series in defence of your race, recalls to my mind a similar circumstance which occurred last year. Happening to read in the *Mail* of the 30th November, 1886, a report of one of those peculiarly rancorous sermons against the Catholic religion to which the good people of Toronto are occasionally treated, I ventured, as a Catholic, to send to that newspaper for publication a short letter in which I attempted to answer the Reverend Preacher's calumnies by an appeal to hard facts. My letter was not published or noticed in any way.

Fortunately I kept a copy, which I now send to you in the hope that you may find therein some contribution towards your side of the controversy. You are quite at liberty to publish it if you see fit. Possibly your readers after perusing it may be better able to say why it was treated with such discourtesy. I am sorry not to be able to send it you in the French language.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH TASSÉ, ESQ.,

La Minerve, Montreal.

JOSEPH POPE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MAIL,"

Sir,

In the *Mail* of the 30th ult., there appears under the heading of "Romanism in Quebec," a report of a lecture recently delivered in Toronto by the Reverend L. N. Beaudry, of Montreal, in which that gentleman says, among other things, that "in all the countries where the Roman Catholic Church prevailed, the common people were poor, ignorant and vicious. If they went to Albany, N.Y., or to

“any city in the United States or even in Toronto and searched the records of the Police, they would find a majority of the miscreants were Roman Catholics.”

Here it is clearly insinuated that the tendency of the Roman Catholic Religion is to make men vicious. This is a grave charge to bring against any religious system. The question which now concerns us is, is it true as regards the Church of Rome in Canada?

It will I think strike most people as strange that the Reverend gentleman, who has all along been devoting himself to the French Canadians, should suddenly leave the consideration of his fellow countrymen and go to the United States for an illustration of the malign influences of the Catholic Faith. Could there be any more apt illustration than is furnished by the Province of Quebec itself, that very Province upon which he is lecturing? Mr. Beaudry's whole theme goes to show how thoroughly “Romish” that Province is, how completely under the Papal rule. As a matter of fact the Roman Catholics in the Province of Quebec number over 86 per cent of the entire population. Ontario, too, is equally favourable for purposes of comparison, 83 per cent of its people being Protestant. Let us therefore, leaving on one side the police records of Albany, N. Y., interesting though no doubt they be, search the Blue Books of our own country and see what they disclose. I assume at the outset that human nature is the same in both Provinces.

The total number of convictions, for indictable offences in the Province of Ontario for the year 1884 was 1436. Now the population of Ontario is to that of Quebec as 24 is to 17. Under similar conditions therefore the number of convictions in the Province of Quebec for the same period should be 1017, that is supposing the population to be divided in respect of religion as in Ontario. But such is not the case. These poor French people are in the leading strings of the foul superstition of Rome, of that system which induces vice. What then must be the extent of their moral degradation? 790 convictions for the whole Province in the year 1884, or *25 per cent less than we should look for on the basis of Ontario's crime.*

Let us go on. The records show that there were in the Province of Ontario during the period of 1880-84, 14 convictions for murder, *there was not one in the Province of Quebec.* According to the ratio of population there should have been 10. There were 29 cases of rape in Ontario, there were 10 cases in Quebec. There were 120 cases of burglary in Ontario, 83 in Quebec, and so on throughout the list.

In Ontario during the same period one person in every 73 was charged with an indictable offence. In priest ridden Quebec, one in every 148.

The Reverend gentleman goes on to say, speaking of the observance in Lower Canada of those days which from time immemorial have been consecrated by the Catholic Church to God and His Saints — “they were days of dissipation, and he presumed that so far as the Roman Catholic population was concerned they were “about the same here (in Toronto).”

What says the record to this implied charge of intemperance brought against his countrymen by one who ought to know better?

In the Province of Ontario between the years 1880 and 1884 one person in every 238 was charged with drunkenness. During the same period in Quebec but one person in every 647 was charged with that offence.

Nay, more than this. Not only is it a fact that the morals of the French Canadian people are not less pure than those of their Western brethren, but it can be shown that this "invasion" by the Lower Canadians of Ontario which is now going on, this "encroachment" by the Catholic race, who to quote the words of a reverend brother of Mr. Beaudry's, are now "crawling along the Western bank of the "Ottawa River like a swarm of potato bugs," is not without beneficial result to the good people of Ontario as the following figures show.

In 1880, which is the period to which, I take it, the Reverend gentleman alludes as marking the beginning of this invasion, the total number of convictions in Ontario was 18,311.

In 1881, after the French had begun to come in, swelling the population and increasing in a proportion beyond their numbers that portion of the people from which the criminals are drawn, the figures *dropped* to 17,110.

During the years 1882-3-4 the influx continued and in the latter year the Ontario convictions had fallen to 16,284.

In the face of these facts, which are accessible to all, it does seem to me unfortunate that the reverend gentleman should not have given his hearers something beyond mere general assertion in support of his denunciations of a system which, whatever may be its faults, certainly in Canada has the effect of restraining its professors from those forms of immorality which offend against human as well as Divine Law.

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH POPE.

Ottawa, 1st December 1886.